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ZERI I POPULLIT ON IMPORTANCE OF PARTY LINE

AU042116 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 30 Dec 81 p 1

[Editorial: "The Party's Correct Marxist-Leninist Line Is the Foundation of All Our Great Victories"]

[Text] The first year of the Seventh 5-Year Plan, 1981, is ending. It is closing with a number of successes in all fields of life, which are added to the marked victories our people achieved during the last 5-year plan and previous periods. Our party's correct consistent Marxist-Leninist line is the foundation of this uninterrupted progress of our socialist land.

Today we are proud of our stable socialist socioeconomic order, which is full of vitality and dynamism, without crises and other features of the capitalist-revisionist world. It has great possibilities for the development and extension of social production, which has guaranteed our people's continually increasing cultural and material well-being and a secure defense. Socialist relations in production are being continually perfected, and culture, education, science and technology are being continually developed. Our people, in unbreakable unity with the party and with a steadfast belief in its correct and farsighted line, are resolutely and bravely marching toward new victories. Our party and state's sovereign, revolutionary and internationalist foreign policy, the struggle against imperialism, social imperialism, revisionism and reaction, supporting the people's struggle for freedom and national independence, democracy and social progress, have strengthened our country's international position more than ever. Friends and well-wishers who have and express respect, sympathy, love and solidarity for Socialist Albania are increasing every day.

The Eighth AWP Congress opened prospects for new victories with its great economic directives and important tasks in other fields: political, ideological, organization, in defense and in the party and state's international relations. These objectives and tasks reflected in the programmatic report delivered by Comrade Enver Hoxha to this congress constitute the party's line for the coming period to construct and defend socialism in Albania and to defend and develop Marxism-Leninism.

Our main task, above all others, is to better understand this correct line, to struggle to implement it with revolutionary determination and to always be vigilant to defend it with steadfast loyalty.

It is more than ever necessary to study with even greater attention the party's documents, Comrade Enver's works and the report delivered to the Eighth AWP Congress in order to understand the party's line more deeply. Let us create deeper knowledge and healtheir convictions in the vitality and superiority of our socialist order as the highest social order, to which the future inevitably belongs. For this, a high theoretical level is a necessary condition to correctly direct each situation and to always act in practice according to the teachings of the party line. In the face of the great pressure of the capitalist-revisionist world, no one should feel immune from its influence and also from the remnants and manifestations of old and new alien ideologies within the country. The party teaches us that we must never underrate or forget the dangers which threaten our socialist society from the great all-round political, economic, ideological and military pressure of this world which surrounds us. We have successfully overcome these dangers and will overcome them also in future. We will challenge them with our internal front, the steel-like unity of the people and party, our determination and bravery, and our tireless work to strengthen the economy and defense of the country. At the same time, it is necessary to raise all educational work of the party and its branches with the aim of better and more deeply assimilating the principles of Marxism-Leninism and our party's teachings. Comrade Enver said at the Eighth AWP Congress that "the most important thing is that our people should ideologically arm themselves, as is necessary, with Marxist understanding and methodology, should educate themselves from a theoretical viewpoint in order to stand and act as consistent revolutionaries and as resolute fighters for socialism and communism at all times and in all circumstances."

We should not only know the party line, the source of all our successes and the good things we enjoy today, but we should implement it through our daily effort and work to put into practice its principles, norms, directions and decisions. Everyone should master his own work, should act with initiative and resolutely struggle according to the authority given to him, within the party line, to fulfill the set tasks in the sector which he works in or directs. Mobilization, emulation, dignity and revolutionary ambition should be raised in each collective to realize the state's plan and other tasks. The initiatives and revolutionary movements which have erupted in implementing the decisions of the Eighth AWP Congress should be spread everywhere and embraced by everyone. Various actions should be taken to advance work in all sectors of life. Everyone should work with the communists at the front, with a high feeling of responsibility to guarantee the fulfillment of the coming year's tasks and those of the whole 5-year plan.

The Eighth AWP Congress urged that in order to defend the party's line, we should correctly wage the class struggle and always be vigilant and ready to defend socialism against all enemies and dangers. This task is accomplished well when we correctly implement the party's Marxist-Leninist line, and when we do not allow deviations from the right or the left, opportunists or sectarians, who, as has been attested to by the party's long experience, are all equally dangerous with critical consequences for the party, the unity of the people and party and our socialist society. In this way, our socialist life will always be constructed correctly and will stand upon healthy foundations, the party will be further strengthened, its revolutionary spirit will be raised, all openings to bad influence will be closed and we will better serve the party, people, revolution and our socialist homeland.

We will always march forward and will accomplish new victories with this correct, clear, pure, farsighted and principled line of our party, based on the victorious theory of Marxism-Leninism, on our glorious 40-year experience and on the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha.

MALO ON RELATIONS WITH SFRY, SHEHU ALLEGATIONS

AU311459 Vienna VOLKSSTIMME in German 30 Dec 81 p 4

[Report on talk by Javer Malo, chairman of the Albanian Committee for Friendly and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, with the AUSTRIAN PRESS AGENCY -- date and place not given]

[Text] Relations between Albania and Yugoslavia seem to have reached a definite low point. Javer Malo, chairman of the Albanian Committee for Friendly and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, attacked the Belgrade Government and charged it with suppressing the Albanian minority in a talk with the AUSTRIAN PRESS AGENCY published on Tuesday. Also Yugoslav press commentaries on the suicide of Albanian Prime Minister Mehmet Shehu caused strong reaction in Tirana.

Malo rejected Yugoslav declarations according to which his government wants to change the borders and create a "greater Albania." Although Tirana rejects the CSCE, it respects the existing borders, he said. But it is something completely different when Albania supports the rights of the Albanian minority in Yugoslavia, and the demands of this minority for creating its own, constituent republic. Albania is just as entitled to this right as the other European countries in relation to minorities outside their borders, Malo stated.

On the suicide of Mehmet Shehu, Albanian diplomats confirmed in the meantime the statement that the government head committed suicide due to depression. Yugoslav papers had speculated that Shehu got into a dispute with party head Enver Hoxha at a Central Committee meeting on 17 December and then "was forced to commit suicide or was killed." Albanian sources stated in this context that at that time there was no Central Committee meeting.

HAXHI LLESHI SENDS MESSAGE TO FIDEL CASTRO

AU021930 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 2 Jan 82

[Text] Haxhi Lleshi, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, has sent the following message to Fidel Castro Ruz, president of the State Council of the Republic of Cuba:

On the occasion of Cuba's national holiday, I convey to you the greetings and best wishes of the Albanian people for the happiness of the Cuban people and the country's prosperity.

TRADE DELEGATION RETURNS FROM TURKEY 29 DEC

AU292021 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 29 Dec 81

[Text] The government trade delegation of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, headed by Foreign Trade Minister Nedin Hoxha, returned to Albania from Turkey on 29 December. Welcoming the delegation at the airport were Luan Babameto, minister of communications; Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Reiz Malile; and Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade Jetnor Rama. Also present was (Osman Ulukan), charge d'affaires ad interim of the embassy of the Republic of Turkey in Tirana.

BRIEFS

SIMON STEFANI ACTIVITIES -- A scientific session was held on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the crops protection station in Durres District. The session was attended by various agricultural experts from other districts, by local party and state cadres and by Simon Stefani, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and secretary, who also addressed the session. [Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 25 Dec 81 AU]

RITA MARKO ACTIVITIES -- A festive children's party was held this afternoon in the Tirana sports palace to celebrate the new year. In addition to the 5,000 children, the festivities were also attended by Rita Marko, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and president of the General Council of Albanian Trade Unions; Minister of Education and Culture Tefta Cami; Gaqo Nesho, first secretary of the Tirana District AWP Committee; Lumturi Rexha, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Union of Working Youth of Albania; and others. [Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 30 Dec 81 AU]

AWP DELEGATION FOR DENMARK -- An AWP delegation led by Agim Popa, director of the Foreign Directorate attached to the AWP Central Committee, has left for Denmark at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Denmark (Marxist-Leninist) to attend an internationalist rally to be organized in Copenhagen. The delegation was bid farewell by AWP Central Committee member Behar Shtylla. [Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1700 GMT 31 Dec 81 AU]

RABOTNICHESKO DELO CRITICIZES U.S. POLAND POLICY

AU041644 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 30 Dec 81 p 7

[Article by Georgi Todorchev, RABOTNICHESKO DELO's New York correspondent: "Washington Is Instigating Tension"]

[Text] New York, 20 Dec -- Alexander Haig, U.S. secretary of state, in a Washington POST interview, as well as Jean Kirkpatrick, the U.S. United Nations representative, and Walter Stoessel, under secretary of state, simultaneously spread the insinuations now being intensely propagated that "passive resistance in Poland will increase," that "a possibility" for Soviet intervention exists in that country, that the question of some sort of "measures," directed against the Soviet Union in connection with the situation in Poland are now being discussed, despite the fact that the Western allies of the United States are reportedly against such an alternative likely to aggravate East-West relations.

Haig, in his statements, obviously "fans" and actually instigates tension by expressing his opinions on "passive resistance," which, according to him, is supposed to gradually increase. His goal is aimed at pushing certain elements in Poland toward excesses which are to the advantage of Western propaganda and policy, but which are to the detriment of the Polish people.

Kirkpatrick, in turn, declared that Washington is now trying to "coordinate" some kind of "joint Western response" to the "Polish situation" intended to affect the Soviet Union to a certain extent. Such "possible steps" of the Reagan administration regarding events in Poland include even the postponement of American-Soviet negotiations in Geneva on the limitation of strategic aggressive weapons.

The monopolies' newspapers here in New York sharply attack the stand adopted by the FRG, which does not blindly follow the shortsighted U.S. policy pertaining to events in Poland and which refuses to wholly "revise" East-West relations, as the White House demands. The New York TIMES devotes a special editorial to this subject and addresses personal attacks against Chancellor Schmidt in this respect, expressing annoyance with the sensible policy conducted in Bonn, which does not coincide with the "views" in Washington. Despite the differences of opinion with the Western countries, which are obvious, "the Reagan administration will possibly announce diplomatic and economic measures this week which it will impose as the price the Soviets will have to pay for their role in the introduction of martial law in Poland," the WALL STREET JOURNAL writes, based on official statements.

The majority of the American people, however, despite the intense demogogic propaganda and the emotional, psychological manipulation of public opinion, are capable of seeing through the barrier of insinuation and slander erected around the Polish events, and ironically evaluate the "selectivity" of the administration in its well-advertized reactions. Thus, for example, observer Anthony Lewis points out that "the President is peculiarly selective" when there is a question about Poland, while other governments are assassinating thousands of people "under the nose" of the U.S. administration in Latin America. The author further writes as follows: "In Guatemala, for example, where a government campaign of political assassination is being conducted under the personal leadership of President Romeo Luis Garcia, almost 5,000 people have been killed in the last 3 years." The so-called "government" of Guatemala is the result of a conspiracy, organized by the CIA. This government uses American and not Russian weapons. The state terrorism of this country is perhaps the most bloodthirsty one today and we could have expected that this situation should provoke moral indignation or at least concern in Washington. What has the Reagan administration done for Guatemala, as a matter of fact? It sent its own representative, General Vernon Walters to that country, who declared that the United States is willing to support this government in defending "peace" and "freedom."

Let us take the example of Chile, the author continues, where the CIA [words illegible] a military conspiracy against the constitutional government. Augusto Pinochet sent agents to Washington who assassinated Orlando Letelier, the former minister of foreign affairs of Chile, and later refused to extradict the murderers. What is the Reagan administration doing about Chile? It has lifted the embargo on financing trade with this country, invited Chile to participate in joint naval exercises and sent Jean Kirkpatrick, the U.S. permanent UN delegate, to Santiago. Or let us take El Salvador, Lewis continues. This was Reagan's first foreign political initiative; namely, to send military forces in that country hardly ever provoke critical remarks in Washington.

There is no doubt that numerous American citizens are now seeing through the streams of insincere tears that are being shed about Poland, and are realizing that the supporters of the restoration of capitalism in Poland who are now sitting in Washington do not care in the least about the fate of the Polish people.

ZHIVKOV SPEAKS AT AFGHAN FRIENDSHIP RALLY

AU291503 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 23 Dec 81 pp 1-2

[Speech delivered by Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee secretary general and State Council chairman, at Bulgarian-Afghan friendship rally held on 22 December in Sofia on the occasion of the visit by Babrak Karmal, secretary general of the Afghan People's Democratic Republic Party and president of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade Karmal,

Dear friends from the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, comrades,

The visit of the official delegation from friendly Afghanistan, headed by Comrade Babrak Karmal, secretary general of the Afghan People's Democratic Party and chairman of the Revolutionary Council of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, is nearing its end.

I wish to state with great pleasure that the talks we held with our Afghan comrades took place in a sincere and cordial atmosphere, that they were held in a spirit of full understanding and unanimity on the basic issues we discussed. As a result of these talks, we signed a number of joint documents pertaining to the expansion and intensification of political, economic and cultural cooperation between our two states, as well as between the BCP and the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan.

We attribute particular importance to the friendship and cooperation treaty signed between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. This treaty represents a guarantee for the further development of comprehensive relations between our states and peoples, it is an essential contribution by our two countries to the common struggle against imperialism and reaction, to the consolidation of peace and cooperation throughout the world. (prolonged applause)

I would like to declare on behalf of the BCP Central Committee, the State Council and the Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, that we will do everything within our power to fulfill the joint documents we have adopted.

Comrades,

At our present meeting we cannot fail to recall that historic day in April 1978, when the people of Afghanistan raised themselves up for a resolute attack to establish a revolutionary and democratic government in their long-suffering motherland.

Neither can we fail to mention with deep emotion that fateful day of 27 December 1979, when the sound forces of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan foiled the conspiracy against their country's independence and successfully defended the historical achievements of the April Revolution. Under the leadership of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, the Afghan people are now implementing a new stage in their April Revolution. As history shows, the basic reorganization of each society is always performed under circumstances of a merciless class struggle, against the fierce resistance of internal and international reaction. The development of the April Revolution in Afghanistan has once more confirmed this truth.

The people of Afghanistan have faced, are facing and will continue to face a large number of tasks in the future. These are tasks pertaining to the elimination of the remants of feudalism, to the liquidation of backwardness, and to the country's development along the path of socialism. A consistent and successful implementation of these tasks serves to consolidate the people's democratic goevernment, it serves to expand and intensify revolutionary changes in all sectors of social life.

The victory of the April Revolution and its development evoked and still evoke the fierce resistance of the former exploiters' classes, of the social strata connected with the exploiters who still exist in the country. The aggression of international imperialism and of the Chinese hegemonists, who are waging a real war against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, continues. The favorite "military targets" of the counterrevolutionary gangs are the homes of peaceful civilians, the schools and hospitals; their victims are innocent children, women and old people. It is the goal of international imperialism and of reaction within the country to destroy the working people's historic achievements and to halt the country's progressive development, to sow fear and to spread insecurity, so that the people may loose their faith in the international worldwide liberation movement. Toward this end the imperialists are concocting various plans for the settlement of the so-called "Afghanistan issue."

We resolutely condemn the continuing undeclared war against sovereign Afghanistan! (stormy and prolonged applause) The People's Republic of Bulgaria wholeheartedly supports the constructive proposals included in the 24 August 1981 declaration of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan on fully normalizing the situation in this country. (stormy applause)

We believe in the just cause of the April Revolution, because no one can stifle the spirit and struggle of a people striving for freedom and social justice. (prolonged applause)

The April Revolution and the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan are strong with their People's Democratic Party and with their people; they are strong because the progressive public throughout the world is at their side, because the peoples of the socialist community are at their side, because the Soviet people are at their side. (stormy and prolonged applause)

The foundations of the great friendship and fraternal solidarity upon which Afghan-Soviet relations are based today are solid because, as we know, they have been laid down by the great Lenin. The historical roots of their relations are based on the friendship treaty signed between these two countries in Moscow on 28 February 1921. Loyal to the principles of this treaty the Soviet nation has always respected the sovereignty of its southern neighbor -- Afghanistan -- and has always supported its striving to overcome backwardness.

Our party and people highly appreciate the assistance with the USSR has rendered and is rendering to the people of Afghanistan, in all sectors of their economy and culture, since the victory of the April Revolution. The temporary presence of a limited Soviet military contingent in Afghanistan has the single task of assisting the Afghan people and their people's army in their efforts to resist the direct military aggression organized by world imperialism. In full accordance with the stipulations of the Soviet-Afghan treaty and with the UN charter, this fraternal assistance is a manifestation of international duty, an expression of the Soviet people's internationalism. This assistance is being rendered at the request of the legitimate government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and will be effectuated as long as the interference in the domestic affairs of Afghanistan has not stopped.

Permit me, Dear Afghan friends, once more to express our continuing and full support for the heroic and just struggle waged by your people. As in the past, you may also rely in the future upon the revolutionary solidarity and fraternal assistance of the People's Republic of Bulgaria. (prolonged applause)

Dear guests, you had the opportunity of getting closely acquainted with the everyday life of the working people in socialist Bulgaria, with the problems which our party and all working people in our country are now engaged in solving. The historic 12th BCP Congress has assigned principled and strategic tasks for our country's comprehensive development along the path of mature socialism. The tenets and tasks set forth by the congress are reflecting and will further relect upon our entire practical work throughout the present decade.

You have certainly noticed that the solid political unanimity and unity of action of our people are based on the successful implementation of our party's general Leninist, April Plenum line for the development of a socialist society in our country.

In order to build this monolithic unity around the BCP we have had glorious but difficult achievements.

In preparing and successfully implementing the 9 September 1944 socialist revolution and in laying down the foundations of socialism in Bulgaria, our party, headed by Georgi Dimitrov, our people's great son, wisely and tactfully succeeded in rallying all patriotic, antifascist and antimonarchist forces under the banner of the Fatherland Front. The policy of the Fatherland Front prevailed as a constructive policy not only for the workers class. It became the credo of Bulgarian peasants, of the majority of the Bulgarian intelligentsia, and even democratic circles of the bourgeoisie, as well as certain strata of the Bulgarian church and other political forces which cherished the national independence, the progress and upsurge of Bulgaria, and joined the Fatherland Front movement. (prolonged applause)

Our party's April line eliminated the harmful consequences of the personality cult and continued, under new historical conditions, to strengthen and intensify the socialist unity of all working people in our country.

Today we can truly say and we have so stated this fact at thel2th BCP Congress in the following words: The Bulgarian people are united and rallied around the BCP policy, they are working and doing their deeds for the success of this policy, and the results of this work are obvious. Within the last 10 years alone, since we adopted the BCP program on building a developed socialist society, we have succeeded in building a country as great as Bulgaria was throughout all the centuries of our past, and we are now entering the 14th century of our existence as a state and a country that is twice as great as Bulgaria used to be in the past. We are proud of our achievements because they are the results of the deeds, of the talent and optimism of all working people in our country. This is the reason why we can pay our respects to our people, to their virtures as creative workers and as the builders of our history. (prolonged applause)

At the same time, we also attribute the achievements in this respect to the BCP. This party is carrying out its guiding and leading role with mature wisdom in developing and further expanding its Leninist policy based on the decisions of the April Plenum. It is precisely under the political leadership of this party that the Bulgarian people won their freedom and lived through prosperous and peaceful years, which are unprecedented in the entire 1,300-year-old history since the establishment of our state. (prolonged applause)

Naturally, the successes we have achieved do not blind us to the shortcomings and weak points, the unresolved, or badly resolved problems in our life. The Bulgarian communist is characterized by his sound feelings and sense of truth. We publicly point at our shortcomings and weaknesses, we honestly and indefatigably work for their improvement and elimination.

The complicated political and social problems which your party and people are now engaged in resolving are close and understandable to us, dear Afghan friends. This is the reason why we tried to share our experience with you. If there is something that makes this experience valuable and useful to other peoples, it is the fact that the BCP is constantly trying to creatively apply and to develop the universally valid Marxist-Leninist principles and laws in the struggle for and in the construction of socialism. We are invariably trying to apply this theoretical and practical experience in a creative manner, in accordance with the specific conditions existing in our country and in our reality. We are well aware, at the same time, that the assistance and experience which we are using cannot and do not replace the efforts of our own people, that it cannot replace the "work of the mind" as Lenin called it, the work which we are now accomplishing and which is awaiting us in the future.

Comrades,

During our talks, as well as in the documents we signed, we have expressed our concern and our grave anxiety over the present state of the international situation.

The imperialist reactionary circles persist in poisoning the international atmosphere and in increasing tension in international relations. We have pointed out on several occasions and we would like to stress once again as follows: In trying to settle the existing controversial problems from the position of strength, imperialism is increasing the danger of war, because it pushes the world along the path of confrontation, along the path of a new armaments race. This danger has become particularly real since the United States announced its intention to start production of neutron weapons and engaged in a vast program of strategic rearmament, whose purpose is to achieve one-sided military superiority over the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact member-countries. This danger was also intensified by the NATO decision to deploy new U.S. medium-range missiles in Western Europe.

However, regardless of the overall complexity of the international situation, we should by no means succumb and we will not succumb to feelings of fatalism and deadlock as regards the existing situation. The People's Republic of Bulgaria is conducting an active, consistent and principled policy aimed at the consolidation of peace, understanding and cooperation among peoples. We are convinced that peace can be and will be preserved since mankind has no other alternative. (stormy and prolonged applause)

Dialogue at all levels -- this is the reliable method of consolidating peace in the nuclear century -- and it must be a constructive dialogue. Therefore, our state is doing everything and will do everything within its power to implement the peaceful program of the CPSU and the initiatives of the fraternal socialist countries, of all progressive and peace-loving forces.

The 12th BCP Congress confirmed our adherence to the policy of peace and peaceful coexistence. We are in favor of expanding our political and economic, cultural and scientific-technical cooperation among Balkan states, in Europe and throughout the world.

Comrades,

Loyal to its principled foreign policy, the People's Republic of Bulgaria actively supports the peoples' struggle for national liberation and independence. Within its possibilities, our country is constantly rendering political, moral and material assistance and support to these peoples.

We sharply denounce Israel's decision to annex the illegally occupied Golan Heights as a new manifestation of Israel's expansionist policy, which extremely complicates the explosive situation in the Middle East.

We have no doubt at all that the malicious campaign which the imperialistic and reactionary circles are launching now against fraternal Poland is doomed. These circles are intentionally distorting the efforts of the state power and of the public in Poland to put an end to anarchy and to the political adventure of the antisocialist forces, to lead the national economy out of the destruction toward which these forces have pushed it, as well as to secure conditions for everyone for a normal life and work. The reactionary circles cannot reconcile themselves to the fact that counterrevolutionary in Poland did not justify the hopes they had placed on it, and that with each passing day the antisocialist forces are encountering even more resolute resistance even from those who were temporarily under the influence of those demagogic slogans.

We must resolutely and categorically declare ourselves against the attempts to exert economic and psychological pressure upon the Polish state leadership and to further aggravate from outside the atmosphere in Poland. (stormy, prolonged applause)

The working people in the People's Republic of Bulgaria ardently support the struggle of the communist and patriotic forces in fraternal Poland and firmly believe that the Polish people will defend their socialist achievements and defend the great cause, the cause of socialism and peace! (stormy and prolonged applause)

We rejoice at the fact that our evaluations of the international situation are shared by the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, whose government is conducting a consistent foreign policy in accordance with the Afghan people's interests and in accordance with our common struggle devoted to the preservation of universal peace.

Comrades,

I would like once again to express our conviction that Bulgarian-Afghan relations will strengthen and be intensified in all sectors of life. This conviction has strengthened during our fruitful and cordial talks with Comrade Babrak Karmal and with the Afghan comrades accompanying him. We can now definitely state that our friendship and cooperation are filled with new meaning and substance, that they are assuming even wider dimensions and prospects for the future. (prolonged applause)

Permit me, on your behalf, too dear citizens of Sofia, to wish with all my heart further successes to the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, to the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and to all Afghan people, to wish them further successes in building and expanding the achievements of the April Revolution, in defending the freedom and independence of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan! (stormy applause)

Long live the fraternal friendship between the BCP and the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, between the Bulgarian and Afghan peoples! (stormy and prolonged applause, everyone rises from his seat, chants: "Friendship, Friendship!")

May the comprehensive cooperation between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan strengthen and develop! (stormy and prolonged applause)

Long live the cause of peace and social progress. (stormy and prolonged applause, prolonged chants: "Friendship, Friendship!")

ADDITIONS, CORRECTIONS TO AFGHAN COMMUNIQUE

The following additions and corrections to the item entitled "Joint Communique Issued on Afghan Leader's Visit," published in the 24 December Eastern Europe DAILY REPORT on page C 1, are supplied from RABOTNICHESKO DELO of 24 December:

Page C 1, substitute the following two paragraphs for paragraph four, supplying the names of the participants to the talks.

"The following persons participated in the talks; on the Bulgarian side: Pencho Kubadinski, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the Fatherland Front National Council; Petur Mladenov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and minister of foreign affairs; Dimitur Stanishev, BCP Central Committee secretary; Kiril Zarev, BCP Central Committee member deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the State Planning Committee; Col Gen Velko Palin, BCP Central Committee member and Central Committee "Military-Administrative" department head; Rumen Serbezov, BCP Central Committee candidate-member and minister of light industry; Yordan Kirov, BCP Central Committee "Foreign Policy and International Relations" deputy head; and Mladen Mladenov, Bulgarian ambassador to Afghanistan.

"On the Afghan side the following persons took part in the talks: Mahmud Barialay, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the Afghan People's Democratic Party Central Committee, chairman of the Committee for International Relations of the Party Central Committee; Dr Niaz Mohammad Mohmand, Central Committee secretary of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and head of the Central Committee Economic Department; Gen 'Abdol Qader, member of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and vice-president of the Presidium of the Revolutionary Council, as well as head of the Central Committee Justice and Defense department; Shah Mohammad Dost, member of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and minister of foreign affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan; Emtiaz Hasan, member of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and ambassador of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan to Bulgaria; Mir-Saheb Karwal, member of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, and Mohammad Farzami, candidate member of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, secretary of the Revolutionary Council and assistant to the president of the Revolutionary Council of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan."

Page C 1, paragraph six, line three, substitute for [words indistinct]: "for further";

Page C 2, first paragraph, line one, substitute for [word indistinct]: "cooperation";

Page C 2, second paragraph, line one, substitute for [word indistinct]: "cooperate";

Page C 2, third paragraph, line two, substitute for [word indistinct]: "further";

Page C 2, eleventh paragraph, last line substitute for [word indistinct]: "discussed."

Page C 3, first paragraph, third line, substitute for [words indistinct]: "of the USSR. They" Supplying words indistinct, rephrasing.

Page C 3, seventh paragraph, fifth line to eleventh line make read: "all to the peoples of Asia.

"Both sides emphasized the pressing need to consolidate peace, security and cooperation in Asia which should become a joint task and care of all countries and peoples on the continent. The two sides fully back up the proposal of the Soviet Union to apply confidence building measures in the region of the Far East as well as in the People's Republic of Mongolia with regard to signing a convention of non-aggression and non-application of force in the relations between states in Asia and the Pacific Ocean region."

Page C 3 penultimate paragraph, third line, substitute for [word indistinct]: "expanding";

Page C 3, same paragraph, fourth line, substitute for [words indistinct]: "coastal";

Page C 3, same paragraph, fifth line, confirm queried word;

Page C 3, last paragraph, first line, substitute for [passage indistinct]: "policy of India which contributes to the cause of peace";

Page C 4, first paragraph, make read:

"The two leaders note that the states of South East Asia are the target of dangerous schemes and ruthless pressure on the part of the Chinese hegemonists and U.S. imperialism which openly interfere in their internal affairs and bear the whole responsibility for keeping up the tension in the region. They express their full solidarity with the struggle of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, the People's Democratic Republic of Laos and the People's Republic of Kampuchea for consolidating their independence and fully back up the constructive proposals of the three states for the settlement of controversial issues through negotiations, for the conversion of Southeast Asia into a region of peace, stability, friendship and cooperation."

Page C 4, second paragraph, first line, substitute for [word indistinct]: "note with";

Page C 4, same paragraph, fourth line, substitute for [passage indistinct]: "Lebanon and the camps of the peaceful Palestinian population. The two";

Page C 4, fourth paragraph, last line, substitute for "Cuba. [Words indistinct]": "Cuba, Nicaragua and El Salvador." (Rephrasing and supplying words indistinct).

CENTRAL COMMITTEE GREETS CHILEAN PARTY

AU012109 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 1 Jan 82

[Text] The BCP Central Committee has sent the following telegram to the Central Committee of the Chilean Communist Party:

Dear comrades,

On behalf of the communists and working people in the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the BCP Central Committee conveys to you the most sincere comradely greetings and congratulations on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the Chilean Communist Party.

For as long as six decades the party of Chilean communists, which is one of the oldest Marxist-Leninist parties in Latin America, has been firmly and consistently struggling to defend the vital interests of the workers class, of the entire working people against exploitation and the policy of oppression exerted by capitalism and oligarchy; it has been struggling for democracy, social justice and a true national independence.

During the 60 years of its existence, the Chilean Communist Party has asserted itself as a sound, militant detachment of the international communist and workers movement and has more than once demonstrated by practical deeds its loyalty to the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and the principles of proletarian internationalism.

Today, despite merciless persecutions and repressive measures, the Chilean Communist Party is consistently and indomitably working for the reunification of all democratic forces in the country and against the fascist dictatorship. In its practical political actions and in other ways this party is protecting the people's rights of struggle against Pinochet's tyranny and standing in the frontranks of the growing antifascist resistance.

On the occasion of the glorious 60th anniversary of the Chilean Communist Party the BCP Central Committee most sincerely congratulates you once again and expresses its full solidarity with the heroic struggle waged by the Chilean communists and by all Chilean people for the triumph of freedom and democracy in Chile.

PREMIER STROUGAL RECEIVES SOVIET ENVOY

LD041844 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1700 GMT 4 Jan 82

[Text] Federal Premier Lubomir Strougal today received Aleksandr Botvin, Soviet ambassador to Czechoslovakia. They discussed topical questions on the further development of all-round cooperation and the strengthening of fraternal relations between Czechoslovakia and the USSR.

COMMENT ON U.S. SANCTIONS, POLISH SITUATION

Reagan Actions Scored

AU041410 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 31 Dec 81/1 Jan 82 p 7

[Dusan Rovensky's Washington dispatch in the column "We Comment": "Attack Against Detente"]

[Text] For the second time in a brief period, President Reagan has again resorted to discriminatory measures which are an obvious negation of the [CSCE] Final Act. This time his "sanctions" are aimed at aggravating Soviet-American economic, political, as well as cultural relations. Their consequences signify an attempt to torpedo the process of international detente on a European and global scale.

The reports that have reached the public indicate that Washington does not intend to stay content with the "sanctions" so far announced. It would also like to prevent the current negotiations on arms reductions, and above all the Soviet-American talks on the limitation of nuclear arms in Europe and the continuation of the Madrid meeting.

The White House has embarked on an adventurous, dangerous path which grossly contradicts normal international relations and signifies a violation of the Helsinki Final Act and its principles and maxims of cooperation between countries with different social systems.

The plans harbored by the American ruling circles are transparent. And now, after the adoption in Poland of energetic measures which bar the way for the counterrevolution, these circles are trying to hasten to the aid of the Polish counterrevolution and to instigate a big international crisis. Incontestably, we are witness to a deliberate attempt to bury the entire process of international detente, and to explain away to the American public the causes of the constantly escalating feverish armament. It is typical that on the very day that Reagan announced the new discriminatory steps against the USSR, he also approved the new military expenditures -- the largest in the last few decades. This is his reply to the generous peace proposals expressed by Leonid Brezhnev in a recent interview to the American NBC television network.

The United States is striving to create a situation which would prevent consolidation in Poland; it is thus supporting the counterrevolutionary elements. Actually, this is not only the aim of all that the official circles are doing in the sphere of politics, but also of the constantly escalating anti-Polish, anti-Soviet, anticommunist campaign in the communications media.

And it is this very campaign that is offering a comparison: now the American press is shedding crocodile tears over the introduction of the state of emergency in Poland, for the sake of defending socialist achievements. It would be well to recall the American Government's reaction to the overthrowing of President Allende's popular government in Chile 8 years ago. At that time Washington did not impose any "sanctions," although we had here an obviously military-fascist terrorist coup d'etat by force. It opened no campaign; on the contrary, it generously opened its hand to the fascists. The explanation is clear: at that time the counterrevolution was one that destroyed a progressive regime.

But in Poland a counterrevolution has been prevented on which imperialism had placed its stakes and which it was supporting materially. And this is what American reaction does not want to become resigned to.

However, not everybody in the United States is thinking in the way the people in power are thinking. The American farmers are obviously alarmed by Reagan's "sanctions" policy. They remember all too well the situation a few years ago, when ex-President Carter resorted to similar precipitous discriminatory steps, for which primarily the American farmers had to pay. Likewise, some industrial circles also are alarmed; for them the deliveries to the Soviet Union signify sure sales during the present critical times. And most certainly it is no coincidence that disagreement is being voiced by the circles which realize what the risky game of Reagan's policy is putting at stake.

Undoubtedly, Reagan's "sanctions" will become the same kind of boomerang as Carter's "sanctions" were. They will fall back on the heads of those who declared them. There is no doubt about this. Also, those industrial and trade circles in the United States which are warning against this know very well that economic cooperation brings advantages not to one side alone, but that it is beneficial for all and sundry. It is also typical that, so far, it has been impossible to force Western Europe to join the "sanctions," despite the extremely strong pressure exerted on it. Europe realizes all too well the significance of cooperation between countries with different social systems and the vital importance for the European peoples of a continuation of the detente process.

U.S. 'Pressure' on Allies

LD041204 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 0600 GMT 4 Jan 82

[Review of foreign-political topics by editor Bohuslav (Getzi)]

[Text] [(Getzi)] Although as many as 22 days have passed since the state of emergency was proclaimed in Poland, this step of the State Council nonetheless continues to be the subject of conjectures in the White House. The sanctions imposed by the U.S. Government and its negative stand are now a well-known fact. However, Reagan is now trying to make his West European allies take a similar couse of action and it is under such tremendous pressure by the United States that a meeting of Common Market foreign ministers is to open in a few hours time in Brussels to discuss a common stand on the developments in Poland. In fact, the meeting constitutes another gross Western interference in Polish internal affairs. I have invited into our studio Dusan Kerny, an editor. Good morning.

[Kerny] Good morning.

[(Getzi)] Comrade Kerny, I think that today's EEC meeting will be neither an easy nor unequivocal affair.

[Kerny] Yes. In the first place the EEC countries are approaching the meeting in disarray. The discriminatory measures imposed against the Polish People's Republic and the Soviet Union by the Reagan administration found, as one would have expected, a positive response in London. This time, however, France's attitude is closer to the United States than on previous occasions. Denmark and Holland are not yet clear on what sort of stand to adopt, while the representatives of such an important state as the FRG have adopted a critical attitude to the U.S. measures. Bonn, as is well known, is greatly interested in the development of mutually advantageous trade with the Soviet Union. Thus, it is proceeding from different perspectives and, one has to add, from a different and more realistic view of the world and, at the same time, apparently from a more realistic assessment of the existing failed attempts, including those of the previous U.S. administration, to impose embargoes and boycotts. It is a well-known fact that Carter's attempts ended in total failure.

Typical, too, are the attitudes of other European countries which are not represented at today's meeting, for instance, Austria. Chancellor Kreisky voiced the conviction in today's LE MONDE that the Western countries are interested in the development of trade with the Soviet Union and that the project under which energy raw materials from Soviet deposits would be transported to West Europe should in no way be impaired by the attempts currently being made by the U.S. administration. This is one of the projects through which relaxation of tension has materialized.

[(Getzi)] I think therefore this economic aspect of the matter is one of the reasons which is preventing West European states from joining the United States in imposing measures against Poland and the Soviet Union.

[Kerny] Yes, this is the second factor, for the countries that disagree with the U.S. administration's stand have realized that the economic consequences of these measures will primarily hit them, that the measures will primarily damage their own economies. At the same time, they have become aware of this in a situation in which they are having to face many difficult economic problems, such as the highest level unemployment since World War II, and many other problems, such as the stability of their currencies. Many Western politicians are realizing that the enormous number of jobless, especially among young people for whom they are not able to provide a secure future, even the most immediate future, is a fertile ground for dissatisfaction and unrest. The New Year speech delivered by Chancellor Schmidt was made in such an unequivocal tenor.

Third, the confidence in the ability of the U.S. administration to successfully tackle international problems is also on a decline. This U.S. administration has embarked upon a path of escalating dangerous confrontation and there are many voices in the West which have been critical about this, pointing out that the U.S. administration is concerning itself with everything else apart from what is the most important thing: the regulation of its relations with the Soviet Union. In other words, they are calling more for realism than Reaganism. This is the reason why the U.S. administration is generating such big, typically U.S., crude pressure. Press agencies even say that this pressure has no precedent as far as U.S. allies are concerned in general and today's meeting of EEC foreign ministers in particular. This crystallization will continue in a different form tomorrow when the U.S. President will meet the West German chancellor and his foreign minister, who will arrive in Washington today.

[(Getzi)] Thank you, and so much for today's EEC meeting in Brussels.

EEC 'Interference' in Poland

LD050928 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0830 GMT 5 Jan 82

[Text] Belgium: The EEC countries have not joined the United States in imposing economic sanctions against Poland and the Soviet Union. This emerges from the final communique issued at the end of yesterday's special meeting of 10 EEC foreign ministers in Brussels, which nonetheless bears the mark of the satellite-like policy of the West European allies toward the United States and which interferes in a gross way in Poland's internal affairs. It refuses to recognize the measures the Polish leadership was forced to adopt to prevent bloodshed and attempts to lecture the Polish Government on how to resolve the current profound crisis in the country. The ministers have also expressed themselves in favor of the unrealistic proposal put forward by General Haig, the American secretary of state, that Poland should be discussed at a special conference of the countries which signed the Helsinki Final Act, and which should be convened in Madrid. The EEC countries made future financial and economic contacts with Poland conditional on the development of the situation in Poland. They have even reserved their right to reappraise their trade policy toward the Soviet Union should they deem it necessary.

Poles' Attitude to Solidarity

AU041533 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 3 Jan 82 p 4

[Jan Lipavsky Warsaw dispatch: "Not Only in the Light of the Events at the Piast Colliery: The 'Solidarity' Leader's Masks Are Falling"]

[Text] The reactions to the events at the Wujek, Ziemowit and Piast collieries are varied. It is apparent, judging from what the press writes and from our own experience, that the great majority of the Polish people has responded with outrage to the terrible license of the "Solidarity" activists who terrorized the miners.

What bitterness do many Poles feel today when they recall Walesa's hackneyed and false slogan that "a Pole will always reach an accord with another Pole." At the Piast colliery 12 organizers of the coerced strike succeeded, with the help of crowbars, horsewhips and psychological terror, in "reaching accord" with hundreds of their countrymen. Those who are "Solidarity" members and still live under the "spell" of their leaders, express -- if not outrage -- at least their unconcealed embarrassment over the practices at the Piast colliery. During our visits to workplaces we spoke to some "Solidarity" members. Some of them did not want to be named, for fear that they might become the target of their former bosses' revenge for their public testimony. This is what the "democracy" prevalent in this organization looks like. But there are also other "Solidarity" members, those who have reached the opinion that the times of gentlemen like Bujak, Rulewski, Jurczyk and Modzelewski will not return and who are not afraid to say what they think about them and their policy.

Of interest is the response to the statements by some activists and leaders of "Solidarity" in the daily press. Some admit that they used to support adventurers and extremists in the leadership of this orgaization and some, in turn, prefer not to say anything about this and claim that they have always been in favor of "Solidarity's" purely trade union character and so forth.

The view is cropping up in this context that in order to return to "Solidarity's" original mission as expressed in the well-known agreements from Gdansk, Szczecin and Jastrzebie, it is necessary not only to part ways with the antisocialist elements and morally discredited leaders in this union but also to draw up a new program and annul everything that had been adopted by the so-called representatives of "Solidarity's" 42,000-man-strong apparatus at their Gdansk session last September and October. These reasonable demands are also being voiced, in various modifications, in enterprises, offices and other institutions.

The masks are falling. "Solidarity's" secret documents are seeing the light of day. Many a "Solidarity" member is shocked hearing what his bosses had been preparing for the Polish people and how grossly they had been abusing the trust of millions of upright people. The demagogy of the onetime "fighters" for justice and democracy was simultaneously so dexterous and monstrous that many people failed to see, for example, that only two out of the 20 resolutions adopted at "Solidarity's" Gdansk session pertained to actual trade union activity, and even they only indirectly. At issue were mostly antisocialist plans and goals. The events at the Wujek, Ziemowit and Piast collieries only give a final touch to the picture of the wolfish morals of a number of delegates to that session, who manipulated many people in the name of some sort of a "self-governing Poland," whose socialist character they wanted to remove by surgery.

We are witnesses to the beginning of the end of the infamous era of the extreme "Solidarity" leaders. They, who only yesterday felt strong and believed that by staging one "protest action" or another they would succeed in inciting society to temerarious acts, are increasingly losing ground under their feet. Their "reserve," however, is still active. It is generally known that the danger of sowing unrest and tension is not over yet. The press furnishes evidence of this daily in its long columns of names of people who will be brought to special courts where they will be held accountable for having committed criminal acts against the state.

With hopes for better times the Polish people are receiving reports such as those about the commissioning of a 360 mw power-generating facility in the Belchatox powerplant, about the beginning of stabilization of daily coal extraction at around 500,000 tons, or about the resumption of work in the Katowice steelworks, the country's largest metallurgical combine. The fact that Monday, the 29th of December was the first day without strikes and "Solidarity" protest actions after 547 days is being regarded as an important sign of normalization of life.

The interned "Solidarity" leaders and other adventurers who are still at large are losing ground, day after day, under their feet.

RUDE PRAVO Roundup

AU041212 [Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 31 December 1981 on page 7 carries a 750-word CTK Warsaw dispatch entitled "Enterprises Are Working as Usual." The dispatch opens by quoting unspecified "reports from various parts of Poland" on the "gradual production growth, increased procurement of agricultural products, improved social and work discipline and restoration of calm and order." It notes the recent progress in coal production, which is said to average 500,000 tons a day, and in the work of Polish steel mills. The dispatch then reports on the 30 December session of the Polish State Council until "an atmosphere of social calm" is established in Poland and on the Polish interior minister's decision to lift the curfew for New Year's eve.

Further on, the dispatch cites a TRYBUNA LUDU article on "beginnings of economic improvement" in Poland, referring to the commissioning of the first bloc of the Belchatow thermal powerplant and to the "normal work" in the Baltic ports, and a PAP report on the number of arrested and sentenced people "in connection with the state of emergency." It notes in this connection that in a number of cases -- when the voivodship courts passed sentences of less than 3 years for organizing strikes -- the chief military prosecutor has been asked to revise the voivodship courts' decisions.

The CTK dispatch goes on to cite Polish media on indictments raised against six members of the editorial staff of Solidarity's periodical in the Katowice steelworks and against organizers of strikes in the Katowice steelworks and the Ziemowit and Piast collieries, and quotes unspecified TRYBUNA LUDU and ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI articles on the "antistate, antisocialist and terrorist activities" of Solidarity leaders and the Independent Union of Polish Students.

The dispatch then quotes a Polish Statistical Office report on the increase of the Polish population's monetary income in the past months and the resulting "breakdown of the market" and a Polish radio report, according to which a 42-hour workweek will be in force in Poland in 1982 and managers will be entitled to "order" work during work-free days. In conclusion, the dispatch reports on the increased wholesale prices for raw materials, energy and production assets and new transportation fees going into effect in Poland at the beginning of 1982.

Attached to the Warsaw dispatch is a 50-word factual Bonn dispatch on Polish Deputy Premier Rakowski's arrival in Bonn and his talks with Hans-Dietrich Genscher.

On the same day, on pages 1 and 7, RUDE PRAVO carries a 1,800-word CTK review of world-wide reaction to the imposition of U.S. sanctions against the Soviet Union in connection with the events in Poland, entitled "Clear Intention To Worsen Soviet-U.S. Relations." The roundup first summarizes a TASS commentary on the Reagan administration's measures and reports on the initial response by the West German, British, French and Danish Governments, noting their "restraint" and "obvious unwillingness" to join the U.S. sanctions. The CTK roundup notes in this context the postponement of the Common Market countries' London consultations on Poland and interprets it as "reflection of many West European countries' concern" over the U.S. steps.

Further on, the CTK roundup reviews West European press commentaries on the U.S. sanctions. It quotes a Paris L'HUMANITE article charging Reagan with "reviving the cold war"; a LE FIGARO article on the importance of Soviet gas deliveries for Western Europe; a FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU article on Western Europe's "growing nervousness" about the U.S. sanctions against Poland and the Soviet Union; a THE TIMES article on the "tension" caused by Reagan's decision among U.S. European allies; a DAILY TELEGRAPH article on the European "resistance" to the U.S. steps and a West Berlin DIE WAHRHEIT article critical of Reagan's sanctions. In conclusion, the CTK review quotes a statement issued by the leadership of the Canadian Communist Party approving of the imposition of the state of emergency in Poland.

On the same day, on page 7, RUDE PRAVO also carries a 500-word "UL"-signed dispatch by RUDE PRAVO's special correspondent in Poland entitled "A Profitable Business." The article gives an account of the author's interview with Franciszek Werner, former accountant of Solidarity's Silesia-Dabrowa regional organization. Werner reports that "strikes and various provocations used to be a profitable business" for their organizers, who -- during sit-in strikes -- used to get paid even for hours spent sleeping. According to Werner, "Every day of a strike yielded for each of our activists at least Z1,000 in addition to the normal wages." The article also notes that in the last 2 months some Solidarity leaders withdrew Z630,000 from the regional organization's account, without specifying the purpose of the transaction. "UL" suspects that the money was earmarked for "setting up an 'iron reserve' of foodstuffs for the period of confrontation with the government announced in Radom." According to the article, Werner was even threatened when inquiring about the reasons for a recent withdrawal of a large sum. "Shut up, or you will have to go," he was reportedly told. As the article adds, "The departure could mean a road from which there would be no return."

NEW PASSPORTS ISSUED FOR PRIVATE TRIPS TO SFRY

AU041453 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 3 Jan 82 p 2

[CTK report: "Journeys to Yugoslavia"]

[Text] Prague (CTK) -- The Federal Ministry of Interior announces that as of 1 January 1982, the pertinent Czechoslovak agencies will be issuing new passports to our citizens traveling privately to the SFRY. These passports, with a valid exit voucher, can only be used for private travel to the SFRY. The validity of the green passports restricted with the stamp "Valid on SFRY Territory Only" expires on 1 January 1982. On request, the passport and visa offices will issue new travel documents to the holders of these passports. Citizens intending to travel to the SFRY in January 1982 should immediately apply for the new travel documents, that is, for the new passport valid for private journeys to the SFRY and for the exit voucher. The passport and visa offices of the national security corps will provide the citizens with more detailed information about this measure.

CASTRO GREETED ON CUBA'S NATIONAL DAY

AU041320 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 31 Dec 81/1 Jan 82 pp 1, 2

[Text] Prague, 30 Dec (CTK) -- Gustav Husak, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary and CSSR president, and Lubomir Strougal, CSSR premier, sent Fidel Castro, first secretary of the Communist Party of Cuba's Central Committee and chairman of the State Council and of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Cuba, the following congratulatory telegram on the occasion of the state holiday of the Republic of Cuba -- the 23d anniversary of its liberation day:

"Dear Comrade Castro, on behalf of the CPCZ Central Committee, of the government and of all Czechoslovak people, as well as in our own name we send you, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, the State Council, the Council of Ministers and the fraternal Cuban people sincere comradely greetings and cordial congratulations on the occasion of the state holiday of the Republic of Cuba -- the 23d anniversary of liberation day.

"The historic victory of the Cuban revolution, which the progressive people throughout the world are commemorating today together with you, has forever entered the history of the Cuban people's fight for freedom and national independence, for revolutionary and socio-economic changes in Cuban society. This victory laid the foundations for the emergence of the first socialist state on the American Continent and opened a new phase of the national liberation and anti-imperialist struggle in Latin America and the Carribean. Thanks to the devoted efforts of the Cuban people, led by the Communist Party of Cuba, your country has achieved -- in cooperation with the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community -- significant successes in building the socialist society in harmony with the conclusions of the party's second congress. The communists and all Czechoslovak people are sincerley glad about these successes.

"We highly appreciate the principled and peaceful foreign policy of the Republic of Cuba and its contribution to consolidating the unity of the socialist community. Your country's active and principled attitudes in the Nonaligned Movement are significantly contributing to the anti-imperialist fight of the peoples for freedom and independent development, for consolidating peace and averting the threat of war.

"We resolutely condemn the aggressive plans and threats of the U.S. imperialist ruling circles toward the Republic of Cuba, as we do the attempts to interfere in your country's internal affairs. We assure you that the Czechoslovak people will continue firmly standing at the side of the Cuban people in defense of the country's independence and freedom.

"We hold in high esteem the friendship of the Czechoslovak and Cuban people, the results of fruitful and all-round cooperation between our fraternal parties and countries. The communists and working people of Czechoslovakia, loyal the the principles of socialist internationalism, are resolved further to deepen and expand this friendship and all-round cooperation, which serves the interests of both our countries and the common fight for the victory of socialism, peace and progress in the world.

"On this important day we most cordially wish you, dear Comrade Castro, and all Cuban communists and the fraternal Cuban people many successes in the socialist construction of your fatherland, for the welfare of the Cuban people and for peace throughout the world."

ECONOMIC PROBLEMS, TASKS OUTLINED BY RUDE PRAVO

Editorial on Economic Performance

AU301807 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 29 Dec 81 p 1

[Editorial: "To Call Things by Their Proper Names"]

[Excerpts] This year a large number of our enterprises had to overcome a lot of difficulties. Particularly toward the end of the year they had to cope with reduced quotas of various kinds of power and simultaneously to exert the utmost effort to accomplish the planned tasks as best as possible. In many enterprises the employees approached the realization of more exacting demands with determination and an enhanced work activity. Today it can already be said that in quite a few instances really good results have been achieved.

The true balance of economy for the whole year will emerge from the report of the Federal Statistics Office toward the end of January. But the enterprises, economic production units and other units will know the results much sooner. It is imperative to immediately analyze them in all places, particularly looking into the causes of weaker results, and to self-critically assess the share of subjective causes in the weaker results -- that is, of unused possibilities and reserves in the management and organizational work, in technology and its utilization, and in the use of working hours.

The Set of Measures urged us to implement the principle of merit in determining the amount of remuneration for work submitted. This was a particularly painful task, because it demanded that we relinquish the considerably widespread, conciliatory attitude toward average and even slack and slovenly work. It is not everywhere that the appropriate executives have found sufficient courage to enforce the above demand. But this did not help them avoid the possible conflicts; it merely postponed them.

A certain benevolence in assessing working results has most adverse consequences for our economic possibilities. It hampers the increase of efficiency, reduces the extent of valorization of our production both on the domestic and -- particularly -- the foreign market, and is finally reflected in the creation of resources which society needs. Frankly, a considerable part of our production is not reaching world parameters; in consequence, our national economy is getting unsatisfactory prices for producers from consumers.

Things must be called by their proper names; since our national economy has no means for more purchases of crude oil, it has been necessary to direct the consumption of commodities produced from it not only through administrative measures, but also by raising the prices of gasoline, diesel fuel and motor and lubricating oils.

In the past few years our state acquired certain foreign loans; on the other hand it granted credit to certain customers. The degree of our indebtedness is acceptable, but it is unacceptable to continue increasing it. On the contrary, it is necessary to develop diligent endeavors to gradually reduce it. It is known that this year's harvest was somewhat weaker. After all the measures taken, we still lack many hundred-thousand tons of grain fodder for animal production. To import it from abroad would mean to pay not only more than double the price as compared to getting it from our domestic production; it would primarily mean overstepping the limits of tolerable indebtedness. In consequence, animal production next year cannot develop at its previous rate, and we must count on having a lower meat production figure.

Parallel to this we must push through greater thrift in all kinds of consumption. Rationalization programs must be reworded to make them correspond to current high demands. It is impossible to be satisfied with just any savings; we must have the maximum savings possible. And for this it is imperative to honestly make use of all possibilities and reserves, not putting them aside "for a rainy day," not speculating with them, because this, too, would be a manifestation of opportunism in practice.

Next year will be difficult. The accomplishment of its tasks will demand all energy, all abilities, all skill and cleverness from everybody. The only realistic path for ensuring the balanced development of our society is to succeed in acquiring the greatest increment with the lowest expenditures. It is necessary to realize this quite clearly. It will not help to wrap this up in veiled language, to rely on various "ifs" and "perhaps" and "one-coulds." Things must be called by their proper name -- good work must be called good, and bad work bad; and one must act accordingly.

Our economy and the working people have sufficient strength to overcome the difficult period of next year. But all energy, without exception, must be exerted for this goal. And this is the main issue now.

Interview With Workers

AU041838 [Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 31 December / 1 January 1982, carries on page 3 a 5,400-word report by Jan Tihlarik and Miloslav Vltavsky entitled "RUDE PRAVO'S Talks With Outstanding Workers on the Experience Acquired in the First Year of Implementing the Set of Measures, With Determination into the New Year."

The "difficulties with which the working collectives had to cope on the road toward successfully accomplishing their duties" are discussed by Vladimir Hamernik, deputy head of the CPCZ Central Committee's Economic Department; Jiri Poslt, deputy head of the CPCZ Central Committee's Department of Industry; Hero of Socialist Labor Jaroslav Bakes, Skoda Plzen concern "Construction of Electric Power Stations Prague;" Hero of Socialist Labor Zdenek Hyl, Klement Gottwald iron and engineering works in Vitkovice, Ostrava; Jirina Nepozitkova, head of the council of brigades in the clothing industry plant in Prostejov; Hero of Socialist Labor Hedvika Peskom, the Tiba plant in Mostek; Hero of Socialist Labor Vilem Schulz, Kohinoor mine in Marianske Radcice, of the North Bohemian brown coal mines in Most; Milada Souckova, Pioneer of Socialist Labor and chairman of the CPCZ's plant committee in rolled bearings works in Prague; Hero of Socialist Labor Frantisek Tyser, the ground construction plant in Teplice; and Milos Vyslouzil, project director, transportation construction projects in Olomouc.

In replying to the question, "How did you cope with the plan fulfillment under new conditions and what difficulties did you overcome in doing it?" Bakes notes "certain problems" in the center now being built for repairs of large electric power station blocks in Chvaletice. Vyslouzil states that "the linking of the improved system of management with the needs of businesslike plan fulfillment was a difficult matter, with which we had to grapple under considerable difficulty during all of the first half year, up to the time when we finally discovered the method of how all this can actually be accomplished. It was only after the third quarter that we succeeded in catching up also with certain shortcomings from the first half year." Peskova describes difficulties with multishift operations and notes that the set of measures "has not yet reached the workers to the extent it should have reach them." Schulz says that, "were it not for this year's tragedy in the Pluto mine," even the raised tasks would have been fulfilled. He adds that in implementing the rules of the Set of Measures, his plant wants to avoid extra shifts -- "even though we know that this is not yet possible" -- and also to have free Saturdays and Sundays "like other working people." Souckova describes the plant's coping with a shortfall of more than Kcs1 million in September 1981. Hyl notes "a number of difficulties in the course of the year, mostly in metallurgical operations," and underscores the role of socialist labor brigades. Nepozitkova notes a balanced plan fulfillment throughout the year. Tyser underscores the importance of following Zlobin's methods, and Poslt stresses that the set of measures can be implemented only by "looking for, and realizing, specific realistic paths for developing products, technologies and general economy" in all places.

In answering the question, "Are you acquainted with the conditions which you will encounter in fulfilling the tasks of next year?" Schulz, Peskova and Vyslouzil reply in the affirmative. Bakes says his plant has been "insufficiently" acquainted with the plan. Hyl says, "We do not yet have concrete figures." Tyser states, "We know the tasks, even though not in detail." Souckova says that her plant "will be acquainted with the precise plan on 6 January." Nepozitkova notes that her plant uses counterplanning already when working out the draft plan, and Poslt underscores that "the lower rates of production growth next year do not mean easier tasks, they demand consistent adjustment of the structure of production to the planned intentions, and especially the needs of export, domestic markets and capital construction. The limited input resources must not be consumed irrationally or frozen in unsaleable reserves," he adds.

In replying to the question about "the resolve with which you approach these tasks, and the experience which you will implement herein," the participants in the discussion speak of their past achievements and good resolutions. Hamernik states: "The next year's tasks as determined by the state national economic plan are very exacting and they place higher demands on every one of us. A most important phase of the breakdown of the plan is to consistently acquaint the working people's collective with the specific tasks of individual work in economic production units, enterprises, plants, workshops and operations," adding: "In the phase of the realization efforts to fulfill the plan, an irreplaceable role is played by leading workers on all levels."

On being asked how they are handing over their experience to their successors, Hyl complains that the "comprehensive approach to the solution of economic production tasks" has not "become as widespread as we expected. It needs a new approach and new ways of thinking" from the leaders of working collectives. Tyser underscores the need to popularize Zlobin's method, since some collectives "have not found the courage to adopt it." Souckova complains about "the failure to ensure new manpower" for the plant. Nepozitkova notes deficiencies in patronages of new measures adopted in view of an influx of about 400 workers shifted from other working places hundreds of kilometers away, such as 10-day working cycles which enable practically nonstop operations. Peskova, Schulz and Bakes generalize, and Hamernik sums up by stressing: "We must know how to explain the tasks of working places to the working people, and determine the prerequisites for accomplishing the tasks. These prerequisites also include the entire foundation of norms, which is not exactly perfect in some instances." But "if we shape a system of norms, then every worker will know what he has to do and under what conditions, this will in fact open enormous scope for all kinds of work initiative, which is measurable," he adds.

The last question is: "To what will you raise your glass" on the threshold of the new year? Bakes wishes that "all the reorganizations we mentioned here should at last end." Hyl wishes for "interesting contracts." Nepozitkova wants peace and Peskova peace and health. Schulz wishes for a consolidation of peace and the welfare of all people striving for this. Souckova wishes for work successes and peace for the families. Poslt wishes "all those who ensure good work, both health and good cheer," and Hamernik wants the advance of "fruitful, effective peaceful work." Tyser toasts construction workers, and Vyslouzil toasts his family and his collective.

The moderators Tihlarik and Vitavsky conclude: "Not everything was successful for us this year; but despite this it has not been a unsuccessful year. For, the changes which the Set of Measures -- now entering our plants -- required of the people's way of thinking, were considerable." It is a "simple truth, that the example of prominent plants must be followed by others, regardless of whether they want to or not. This is necessary because of the much harsher conditions which are becoming a fact in our economy, a fact that in no way can be circumvented. We must produce more than we have planned to date with a smaller amount of energy and raw materials.

BRIEFS

ILLNESS, ABSENTEEISM -- More than 283,000 employees daily are absent from work due to sickness or accident in the CSSR; that is 13,000 less than in 1980. This decrease is due to the absence of large epidemics and flu. More than 4.08 percent of employees in transportation, trade and the construction,timber, chemical, metal, food, metallurgy, and power industries were absent from work due to sickness. This is more than the average. Most absences from work due to sickness were in west Bohemia, south Moravia, Prague, north Bohemia and north Moravia. The most absences from work are due to respiratory diseases, including flu; the second place is held by accidents, the third by diseases of the [words indistinct], the fourth by diseases of the digestive tract, and the fifth by diseases of the circulatory system. [Prague PRACE in Czech 29 Dec 81 p 3 AU]

ALCOHOLISM IN SLOVAKIA -- Alcholoism is the cause of more than 30 percent of felonies in Slovakia; last year 1,673 of the 6,651 divorces occurred because of the husband's alcoholism, and 115 because of the wife's alcoholism. Despite partial successes, the desirable social atmosphere opposed to alcohol abuse has not been created; and this although the Slovak government discussed the problem in 1973, 1974, 1976, 1980; and the Slovak Communist Party's Central Committee Presidium in January 1981. In 1979 the per capita alcohol consumption, measured in 100-percent alcohol, amounted to 10.4 liters; in 1980 the figure was 10.7 liters. The official sources maintain that the society has no profit from sales of alcohol and spirits. [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 29 Dec 81 p 2 AU]

EEC STATEMENT ON POLAND REPORTED 4 JAN

LD042036 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1958 GMT 4 Jan 82

[Text] Brussels, 4 Jan (ADN) -- At their meeting in Brussels today the EEC states inadmissibly interfered in Poland's internal affairs. In a resolution they tried to prescribe to the Polish Government how it should order its internal affairs. By this act, the EEC states clearly infringed on the Helsinki Final Act which expressly states that in the interests of international security, the sovereign rights of every state must be respected.

Owing to differences on some issues, the Brussels meeting failed to adopt a decision supporting the U.S. sanctions against Poland and the Soviet Union.

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND REPORTS ON AID TO POLAND

AU041344 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 31 Dec 81 p 2

[Summary] Berlin (ADN/ND) -- On Wednesday 11 trucks from Frankfurt (Oder) Bezirk with canned fruit and vegetables, foodstuffs and textiles left for the Gorzow Voivodship and the seventh truck convoy of Neubrandenburg Bezirk left for the Koszalin partner voivodship. Various donations were also made to the special account. The Central Executive Committee of the Association of Peasants Mutual Aid-Peasants Trade Cooperatives contributed M500,000 and the amount of the contributions of the bezirk organizations of the Democratic Women's League is so far M360,000. In Suhl Bezirk old-age pensioners have collected over M25,000 at various events and the trade union members have contributed M305,000. The ensemble of the German State Opera in Berlin has contributed M13,500 and the students, teachers and staff of the teacher training institutes of Erfurt Bezirk over M155,000.

U.S. MILITARY EXERCISES IN FRG REPORTED

LD042044 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1711 GMT 4 Jan 82

[Text] Bonn, 4 Jan (ADN) -- An exercise of U.S. forces stationed in the FRG began today in Hesse and Bavaria. Major General Fred K. Mahaffey, the commanding officer of the Third U.S. Infantry Division, said that the exercise, code-named "Marne Magic", covered areas close to the GDR border. Altogether 18,500 men with 3,200 vehicles, 2,000 armored vehicles, 120 helicopters and 36 fighter planes are taking part. The exercise is due to end on 16 January.

CULTURAL, SCIENTIFIC PLAN SIGNED WITH LIBYA

AU041324 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 31 Dec 81 p 2

[Text] Tripoli (ADN) -- A joint working plan on cooperation between the GDR and Libya in the fields of culture and science was signed in Tripoli on Tuesday. The document, which encompasses the period 1981-83, envisages numerous cultural and scientific activities for deepening and expanding cooperation between the GDR and Libya.

HONECKER, STOPH GREET CASTRO ON NATIONAL DAY

AU041432 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 2-3 Jan 82 pp 1, 2

[Text] Berlin (ND) -- Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and GDR State Council Chairman, and Willi Stoph, GDR Council of Ministers chairman, have sent the following congratulatory telegram to Fidel Castro Ruz, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba and chairman of the State Council and the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Cuba:

Dear Comrade Fidel Castro: On the occasion of the 23rd anniversary of the revolution -- the day of the liberation -- we convey to you, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, the State Council, the Council of Ministers and the entire fraternal Cuban people our most cordial militant greetings and congratulations on behalf of the SED Central Committee, the State Council, the Council of Ministers and the people of the GDR.

The historic victory over the Batista dictatorship 23 years ago opened up for the Cuban people the way toward implementing the revolutionary ideas of Marxism-Leninism and ushered in a new phase of the national and anti-imperialist movement in Latin America.

The GDR people are sincerely pleased about the impressive successes which the Cuban people, in close alliance with the USSR and the other fraternal countries, have achieved in building socialism. Thanks to this development andthe consistent foreign policy characterized by internationalism, socialist Cuba enjoys high international respect and makes a valuable contribution to the anti-imperialist struggle of the peoples.

We note with satisfaction that the fraternal and comradely relations between the GDR and the Republic of Cuba are developing dynamically in accordance with the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The treaty on friendship and cooperation forms a stable basis for the comprehensive and long-term further development of cooperation between our socialist states in all fields of social life. The SED and the Government of the GDR will continue to make every effort to constantly deepen the ties of friendship and fraternal solidarity between our peoples.

We wish you, dear Comrade Fidel, the Communist Party of Cuba and the Cuban people further great successes in implementing the slogan of the second party congress "Production and Defense."

Please accept on this occasion our best wishes for 1982.

HOFFMANN, DICKEL SEND GREETINGS TO ARMY, POLICE

AU311826 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 30 Dec 81 p 1

[ADN report on Army Gen Heinz Hoffmann, minister of national defense, and Col Gen Friedrich Dickel, minister of internal affairs, expressing their thanks to army members and the People's Police]

[Text] Berlin (ADN) -- At the turn of the year, Army Gen Heinz Hoffmann, SED Central Committee Politburo member and minister for national defense, addressed the members and civilian employees of the National People's Army [NVA2, the Border Troops and the Civil Defense of the GDR. In cordial words he thanked them for their sense of duty, reliability, initiative and their high readiness for performance. "We soldiers are particularly proud that we have successfully contributed for another year at the side of Soviet comrade-in-arms and the other fraternal armies toward maintaining peace for our people and for the peoples of Europe, and reliably securing happiness and safety for our families, for all people of our fatherland and the socialist community."

In order to have socialism prosper in peace, the soldiers of socialism will also in future have to honorably fulfill their duty and defend the achievements of the working people with political understanding, personal readiness for performance, vigilance and militant spirit, Army Gen Hoffmann stressed. The 1981 results in combat training, in the duty system, and in combat and border service are the guarantee that the soldiers of the people will fulfill the class assignment of the 10th SED Congress even under the most complicated conditions. "Therefore let us enter the new year with unswerving courage and the firm determination to do our best so that peace will be maintained and that the decisions of the party of the workers class and the People's Chamber of the GDR will become reality."

Col Gen Friedrich Dickel, minister of internal affairs and head of the German People's Police, congratulated the members of the People's Police and the civilian employees on the turn of the year and thanked them for loyally fulfilling their duties. "They all contributed with their achievements, strenuous service and readiness for performance, characterized by high political awareness toward ensuring that public order and security in our republic were guaranteed at any time," the minister said.

In view of the worsening international situation by reactionary imperialist circles and the serious endangering of peace, the members of the People's Police must increase efforts to fulfill the tasks conveyed to them. "To guarantee a high public order and security, a firm system of law in close cooperation with the working people and all citizens, and to exercise revolutionary vigilance at any time is our contribution toward universally strengthening the socialist achievements and thus toward securing peace."

HONECKER, BREZHNEV EXCHANGE NEW YEAR'S GREETINGS

LD012058 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1800 GMT 1 Jan 82

[Text] Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Leonid Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU and chairman of the Supreme Soviet Presidium, have exchanged cordial greetings and wishes for the new year.

Erich Honecker also exchanged New Year greetings with the general secretaries and first secretaries of the fraternal parties, as well as with heads of state of the other socialist countries.

The chairman of the State Council and leading representatives of states throughout the world, as well as of international organizations, exchanged congratulations on the year which has just begun.

Erich Honecker also exchanged New Year greetings with leaders of communist and workers' parties and with other friendly parties and movements in non-socialist countries.

Council of Ministers Chairman Willi Stoph exchanged cordial New Year's greetings with Soviet Council of Ministers Chairman Nikolay Tikhonov, with the chairmen of the councils of ministers of the other fraternal socialist countries and with the heads of government of numerous other states.

People's Chamber President Horst Sindermann and the presidents of parliaments of other states also sent new year greetings to one another.

HONECKER SENDS GREETINGS TO PLO'S 'ARAFAT

LD011038 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0303 GMT 1 Jan 82

[Text] Berlin, 1 Jan (ADN) -- The GDR resolutely supports the just struggle of the Palestinian people under the leadership of the PLO. This has been affirmed by Erich Honecker, secretary general of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, in a telegram to PLO Chairman Yasir 'Arafat. On the occasion of the 17th anniversary of the start of the Palestinian resistance the message conveys fraternal, militant greetings. It furthermore expresses the firm conviction that the struggle of the Palestinian people will be successful despite all imperialist maneuvers.

TISCH DISCUSSES COURSE OF FDGB ELECTIONS

LD240404 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0355 GMT 23 Dec 81

[Text] Berlin, 23 Dec (ADN) -- The course of the FDGB elections thus far has shown that the fighting vigor of this class organization with 9 million members has further grown. This is the assessment given by Harry Tisch, chairman of the FDGB National Executive Committee, and member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the SED, in an interview published on Wednesday by NEUES DEUTSCHLAND.

The first stage of the 1981-82 elections -- the election of the group officials and managements in plants, schools and other establishments -- was concluded in the middle of December. At the beginning of January the elections, which will conclude with the 10th FDGB Congress electing the National Executive Committee, will continue with delegates' conferences of the industrial and other trade unions and as well as of the FDGB at district (kreis), town and area (bezirk) level.

Tisch said: "The content of the election assemblies was marked by political declarations of will to do one's utmost to maintain peace in the face of the course of increased arms buildup by the United States and other NATO states and the growth in the threat of war." The GDR people want to determine their present and future in peace and security. This is the reason the trade union backed the USSR's constructive and comprehensive peace program.

Harry Tisch went on to say that the most effective contribution to this was "seen to be the further all-round strengthening of the socialist state power, particularly in the economic field." The large number of trade union members who took part in the balloting, their attendance at the assemblies, their suggestions and advice -- "all of this impressively illustrates their approval of the policy of the party and of the working class and their readiness to react vigorously to fresh demands in order to help implement the policy which serves the good of our people and the maintenance of peace. The strengthening of the fighting vigor of the FDGB is also expressed in the fact that the number of trade union groups has grown by 16,000. It is now 315,553."

There was 88.1 percent participation in the election assemblies; this was 5 percent higher than in the previous elections in 1979-1980. All officials in the Free German Trade Union Federation were directly elected by the members. Each could then make a direct decision in choosing. Tisch said that the high proportion of reelected officials was an important item in the credit balance of trade union work.

Tisch said that "2.1 million members spoke in the election assemblies and they submitted .75 million proposals and suggestions. All of this expresses the great trust which our members have in the policy of our party, our socialist state and the FDGB." The tasks and aims of the new competition plans decided upon by the work teams were "determined by the need for a considerable acceleration of socialist intensification. The decisions already expressed how the work teams are adjusting to performance demands that are new in principle and decisive for the continuation of the policy of the main task, and indeed for our overall policy."

Tisch said: "The working people feel secure in our socialist state. The value of living in social security is being increasingly better understood, as is the importance of the further purposeful implementation under the changed conditions of this decade of our social policy program with its centerpiece, the housing construction program, and of the progressive raising of the people's material and cultural living standards. We are paying constant attention to the further improvement of working and living conditions at the place of work and in the family. Caring for our colleagues' daily well-being was, is and will remain a genuine concern of our trade union work."

JARUZELSKI MEETS WITH EEC, WARSAW PACT ENVOYS

LD041930 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 4 Jan 82

[Text] Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, chairman of the Military Council of National Salvation and chairman of the Council of Ministers, received today the ambassadors of Belgium, Houllez; Denmark, Frellesvig; France, Dupuy; Greece, Retalis; Netherlands, van der Kun; FRG, Negwer; Italy, Favale; and British charge d'affaires, Melhuish. The meeting was attended also by Jozef Czyrek, minister for foreign affairs.

Wojciech Jaruzelski informed the heads of the diplomatic missions about the situation in Poland. The premier drew their attention to the importance of the economic and trade exchanges between East and West for the consolidation of the peaceable structure of our continent. Noting the efforts made by the Polish authorities in order to stabilize the internal situation and to overcome the crisis, the premier gave assurances to the effect that our country intends to continue to perform the role of an honest partner in international economic relations and a constructive factor in the process of detente and peace. At the end of the meeting the heads of the diplomatic missions conveyed their new year wishes to Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski.

Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, chairman of the Military Council of National Salvation and chairman of the Council of Ministers, also met today with ambassadors of countries belonging to the Warsaw Treaty. The meeting was attended by the ambassadors of the USSR, Aristov; Bulgaria, Nedev; Czechoslovakia, Rehorek; GDR, Neubauer; Romania, Cozma; and Hungary, Garamvolgyi. Present at the meeting was Jozef Czyrek, minister for foreign affairs.

During the meeting, which took place in an atmosphere of sincerity and friendship, matters concerning the development of our countries' all-round cooperation were discussed. Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski informed the ambassadors about the topical problems of the country's socioeconomic life. The ambassadors present at the meeting conveyed on behalf of their leaders new year best wishes to the Polish nation.

EEC MEETING HELD IN BRUSSELS 4 JAN REPORTED

LD050240 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0200 GMT 5 Jan 82

[Text] The foreign ministers of the 10 EEC member-states discussed the events in Poland yesterday in Brussels. The session was chaired by Belgian Minister of Foreign Affairs Leo Tindemans, who is the current chairman of the EEC Council.

At a press conference which took place after the meeting had ended, Leo Tindemans informed journalists that the heads of diplomacy of the EEC countries believe that the Polish crisis should be resolved by the Poles themselves. The REUTER correspondent draws attention to the fact that the ministers also refused to lend support to the policy of economic sanctions that is being implemented with regard to Poland by U.S. President Ronald Reagan.

Leo Tindemans, at the press conference, recalled the declaration by the Military Council of National Salvation announcing the restoration of civic liberties as soon as possible and the continuation of the process of reform. The participants in the session in Brussels acquainted themselves with reports by the West European ambassadors in Warsaw following their meeting with Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski. West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher declared to journalists that there is no unity of stance and views among the member states of the Common Market over the attitude regarding the events in Poland.

The 10 foreign ministers also stated their support for renewal, as soon as possible, of the talks on a ministerial level of the CSCE session. As is known, the session of this conference, which is taking place in Madrid, was suspended before Christmas and is to be resumed 9 February.

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS' NEW COMMITTEE MEETS

LD041912 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 4 Jan 82

[Text] The Government Press Office reports that the Sociopolitical Committee of the Council of Ministers held its first session today. Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski chaired the session.

The session was attended by Deputy Premiers Edward Kowalczyk, Roman Malinowski and Jerzy Ozdowski. The plan of work of the newly set-up government body was discussed, and the order of the most important issues requiring decisions was agreed.

SEJM SUBCOMMISSIONS DISCUSS DRAFT ECONOMIC LAWS

LD050346 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0300 GMT 5 Jan 82

[Text] Sejm subcommissions have begun to discuss the eight draft laws which are to change in an important way the manner in which the Polish economy functions. These laws were submitted by the government. These drafts relate to the principles of planning, the keeping of state statistics, financial management, the tax system, prices, foreign trade, banking law and the Polish National Bank statute. Placing these drafts before the Sejm is a further step toward bringing nearer the moment of the economic reform implementation in its final form. It also confirms the will of the Military Council of National Salvation to continue its work of renewal in Poland, for economic reform is an indispensable element of this renewal.

NEWS CONFERENCE ON SOCIAL POLICY IMPLEMENTATION

LD041726 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1546 GMT 4 Jan 82

[Text] At a news conference held today in the office of the Council of Ministers, representatives of the Ministry of Labor, Wages and Social Affairs described how the social policy is being and will continue to be implemented under the conditions of martial law and under the conditions of the introduction of economic reform.

The conference ended 1 hour ago so we are hastily trying to give you just details about it. The expenditure on wages increased in 1981 by 175 billion; the expenditure on social benefits, i.e. family allowances, retirement pensions, disability and other pensions as well as all types of grants increased by 257 billion. All obligations undertaken with regard to wages, on the basis of the signed accords, have been implemented almost 100 percent except those which from the beginning were envisaged to be implemented at a later date -- after 1981 -- such as some appropriations on education, health service, trade and public services. These will be the most urgent tasks requiring the allocation of funds in 1982.

The government has also made many decisions which have not been included in the social accords that have been concluded. These decisions follow from the work plan which has been adopted previously; for example, the increase in the alimony fund and the increase in some retirement and other pensions. Work is currently in progress on the reform of the whole retirement system and other pensions; this work involves discussions. A detailed analysis of the existing wage system is also being effected.

This is the end of our short report. One thing is certain: There will be no wage freeze, although wages will not rise at the same high rate as in 1981. Our economy cannot afford this, our market could not stand it, and at the same time there is the need for achieving the correct relationship between wages, work and productivity; this relationship has been only too successfully disrupted in recent years.

Policy Planners Interviewed

LD050002 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 4 Jan 82

[Interview with Jozef Bury, deputy minister of the Ministry of Labor, Wages and Social Affairs; Jerzy (Socha), director general of the Ministry of Labor, Wages and Social Affairs; Zbigniew Januszek, director of the Department of Social Insurance; and Ireneusz Sekula, director of the Department of Employment, by correspondent Lechoslaw Janowicz, following a press conference at the Council of Ministers office in Warsaw -- recorded]

[Excerpts] [Janowicz] The government Press Office today organized a meeting of journalists with senior officials of the Ministry of Labor, Wages and Social Affairs. The meeting was attended by Deputy Minister Jozef Bury; Director of Social Insurance; and Ireneusz Sekula, director of the Department of Employment. My first question is to Minister Jozef Bury. First of all, in 1981 did the state fulfill all its social obligations? As we remember, there were a great many of them, among others those stemming from accords concluded in Gdansk, Jastrzebie and others.

[Bury] The answer is yes. One can say that all the social accords have been implemented, with the reservation that many of these accords did not imply that they would be implemented in 1981. Those which were intended to be honored in 1981 were indeed implemented, and even with some extra measures over and above the main ones. Let us recall that we were in fact referring to a general across-the-board pay increase, the so-called 'Walesa rise.' And yet after this obligation had been carried out at the end of 1980, another round of pay rises began which cost us altogether about Z85 billion; the cost of the first rise is estimated to be Z105 billion, altogether, therefore, we spent on wages alone about Z200 billion. This does not take into account the amount which, under various financial arrangements, will extend into 1982 on the basis of the decisions made in 1981. As to pay, the accords stipulated further shifts in wages and the restructuring of the systems of remuneration, but of course no time limits were set.

[Janowicz] I have a question now for Director Sekula. Beginning 1 January amalgamations and various administrative units are being liquidated. Is the country in 1982 threatened with an excess of manpower over employment capacity?

[Sekula] Certainly not, as regards overall figures. The amalgamations do not constitute a problem because although they employ 46,000 employees, there are 150,000 job vacancies available today. However, many people employed by the amalgamations will find it difficult to obtain the kind of work they want; that is, highly paid white-collar work, to use old-fashioned terminology.

As to the overall picture I personally believe that it will not be until 1983, the first year the enterprise reforms will be reviewed, when employees will realize that by doing the work of four men, three employees will be, so to speak, able to share the fourth man's wages among them. Hence there will be a trend from the grassroots toward a rationalization of employment. But in 1982, in view of the unsteady production trends and difficulties with supplies, there will be a continued high level of employment, sometimes even higher than before, and it is more likely that we are going to have difficulties with manpower, meeting all the labor requirements of the enterprises.

[Janowicz] During the press conference were there questions raised about the ministry's attitude to those who wish to seek employment abroad.

[Sekula][Word indistinct] first of all we are decidedly against any form of emigration in search of work such as trips to the West which involve breaking contacts with mother country, breaking the principles of community life and involving some illegal procedures. The reason for this is the fact that this amounts to the loss of people, very often young, energetic and frequently highly qualified.

In this way Poland loses its citizens while they are simply here or will be needed here; the crisis will end one day, although no one can define how soon this will take place -- whether this will be in 1 year's time, in 2 or 3 years. Nevertheless, one day the crisis will end and at that moment, having a well-defined economic capacity at our disposal, we may face a situation in which we will lack qualified personnel because of the emigration in search of work which we had failed to stem.

The second point is that the ministry has sought and is continuing to seek to expand the employment abroad legally, contracting people who will be covered by legal arrangements, social security and so on and whose work abroad will increase the chances of gaining foreign currencies for the employees themselves and for the country as a whole; to export Polish ideas and promote our own trade opportunities. This concerns mainly the socialist countries and the developing countries, and negotiations are at present underway concerning protocols to be signed for 1982; indeed, we can count on a certain, though not very great, increase in the employment of our citizens in socialist and developing countries.

However, the information frequently repeated in 1981 about the hundreds of vacancies in legal employment allegedly available to Poles in Western Europe has been nothing but a myth and an illusion. The employment there amounts to a dozen or so thousand people [words indistinct] and even if we succeeded in increasing the number by 10 or 15 percent the figure involved would be in the order of a few thousand more. We are seeking such opportunities but realistically speaking the chances of achieving success in this respect are minimal.

Third, there is of course the illegal employment abroad in which the ministry can neither participate nor show any action, nor does it wish to do so. On the other hand we do not wish to overlook this problem. If somebody had gone abroad and has started working there, without any legal basis, then at least three possibilities should be made available to him or her.

First, not to cut him away from the country, in other words let him come home, let him pay into the country the money he has earned, let him visit his family, let him keep his Polish passport, let him have the awareness that he is a citizen of this country to which he can not only come at any moment, but also, and so he should, return.

[Janowicz] Is the present state of martial law going to slow down the work of the ministry? Of special importance to the working people for instance are such matters as retirement benefits.

[Januszek] The work on the state of social benefits has been planned for 2 years, that is for 1981 and 1982. As you no doubt remember consultations -- very widespread public consultations -- on the subject of the reform of family allowances system and the allowance for raising children which has long been planned and has already been introduced, and also on the subject of the retirement system and other pensions, were in progress throughout 1981.

The consultations were longest in respect to the reform of the retirement system and other pensions; a special consultative commission was even set up to draft a law on this issue. The work of this commission, which included representatives of all trade unions and professional groups, was concluded on 7 December. At this moment the draft law on retirement provisions for employees and their families has already reached the office of the Council of Ministers and if it is approved by the Council of Ministers, it will be possible to proceed with it.

As regards the system of family allowances, the consultations were also concluded last year; beginning 1 January we have introduced the second stage in the reform of these allowances, and the third stage, as we had envisaged and as we indicated during the consultations with organizations such as trade unions cannot hinder our work in any way.

MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE INTERVIEWED ON AGREEMENTS

LD050848 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1700 GMT 30 Dec 81

[Excerpt] [Announcer] I wish to devote today's agricultural talks to topics which will undoubtedly interest us not only on the threshold of the coming new year. We will not attempt to draw some kind of a balance between the achievements and difficulties of our agriculture because we see this balance in empty shops and on empty tables. This balance is not the best this year. But apart from this purely production balance there is also a balance of achievements of another kind. There is talk all over the countryside that in the past period, last year, farmers achieved, as some people say, the height of civic rights as compared with the workers of other branches of the economy. There is also talk that farmers really can have self-management in accordance with their wish and directly control everything that is happening in their parish and village. An important element in this balance of various achievements are also laws which were submitted to the Sejm last autumn, laws which are at present being examined by the Sejm commissions. Among them is an especially important law on social and pension provisions for the farmers and their families. In view of these elements many farmers in their letters to the editorial office and in direct encounters with my colleagues and I ask whether all these achievements will not be simply ruined as a result of the introduction of martial law. This was the main topic of the interview by our colleague, Editor Cyranowicz, with the minister of agriculture and food economy.

[Begin recording] [Minister] I would like, first of all, to assure the farmers that all agreements concluded in the past weeks or months will be implemented. This applies both to matters concerning the permanency of individual farming, the profitability of production, the supply of the means of production and to problems of a social nature. All these matters will be implemented. The agreement concerning a permanent profitability of production will also be implemented. I speak about this because I have often encountered a question in my conversations with farmers: What will happen after January when new prices of the means of production will be introduced? I reply: New purchasing prices of agricultural products will be introduced on such a scale so that the profitability of production does not change, that the standard [parytet] of income does not change. Thus, it will be in the manner as it was agreed in talks with the farmers last April when we were introducing new prices and agreeing that the standard of income should be equal in relation to the standard of income of those employed in the socialized economy. This will be maintained in spite of the fact that a tractor will be more expensive, other machines will be more expensive, but the price of pigs, milk and other agricultural products will be higher. Thus there will be full profitability of production. From November the prices will be equalized with new prices which we will introduce. I doubt whether we will introduce these prices 1 January. Most probably, they will be introduced from 1 February. But new prices of machines will be introduced, most probably, from January and new prices of agricultural products will not be introduced at that time. But the farmers should not be alarmed because there is a decision of the Council of Ministers which guarantees the equalization of these prices. Some people may ask why we do not introduce these prices simultaneously, why new prices of agricultural products are not introduced with new supply prices. Then it would be necessary to introduce at the same time new retail prices. If we did not do this the difference would be even greater. Today one liter of milk costs Z3 in retail trade and its purchasing price is Z15. If we increased this price of one liter of milk as it is, the disproportion would be even greater. Thus these matters must be dealt with simultaneously and then new purchasing prices of agricultural products will be introduced. But they will be, and I stress this, equalized for all farmers who have been delivering agricultural products since November.

[Cyranowicz] Can you also assure the farmers that there will be greater supplies of the industrial means of production for agriculture?

[Answer] Our agriculture will be able to produce much more than today if it receives from industry more means of production. Thus industry must produce more of these means if we are to have more food. There are agreements. I believe that they [can] be implemented. If they are implemented, there will be more means of production, there will be more machines for agriculture. But we know the state of our economy, difficulties of our economy. Thus, I would like to state at the same time that this will not take place at once. The year 1982 will also also be difficult as far as the supply of machines, fertilizers and the means for the protection of plants is concerned. The state of our economy is difficult and our economy will not be able to permit the purchase of larger quantities of the means for the protection of plants in spite of the fact that we all are aware how essential they are for agriculture, how they determine production.

[Question] In view of this would it not be necessary, so to speak, to more justly distribute what is being produced by industry?

[Answer] I wanted to come to this. We have worked out such a proposal of new principles of contracts. We would like to supply the means of production and machines to farmers dependent on the size of marketable production net per hectare. More fertilizers, more other means of production and machines would be supplied to those who sell more products to the socialized purchasing. I think that this is the most just distribution of the means of production and machines. It is a complex matter because it is essential to calculate. It is a proposal. We are meeting today with representatives of the industrial branch trade unions and we wish to submit this proposal. If the farmers accept it, we would like to introduce it from January or from February.

On Farming Prospects

LD041520 Warsaw PAP in English 1435 GMT 4 Jan 82

[Text] Warsaw, 4 Jan (PAP) -- The fact that Poland will have problems with food imports this year threatens a dramatic cut on fodder supply and reduction of meat rations in this country, Poland's Minister for Farming and Food Economy Jerzy Wojtecki told DZIENNIK LUDOWY today. "Hence we call on Polish farmers to step up contracting supplies and the sales of livestock, cereals, potatoes, milk and eggs. At the same time we do all to aid farmers in having best possible crops this year," the minister added.

Livestock purchase has been proceeding quite well recently, and given imports of Soviet meat, I expect full supply of meat for coupons this month, the minister said. On December 22, 7,000 tonnes of livestock were purchased, the best record over the last few months, he said.

"We appealed to farmers to deliver contracted cereal quotas and we put the voivodas under the obligation to exact the above in a move calculated to secure a cereals-and-fodder balance. We want to purchase a total of 3.6 million tonnes of cereals out ot the 20 million harvested last year, and to import another 5.5 million tonnes. So far we purchased around 1.4 million tonnes from Polish farmers. Imports, too, are smaller than expected, due to food export limits imposed by several countries and a halt in U.S. food exports to Poland after the introduction of martial law in this country," Minister Wojtecki said. "What Next? Well, we do count on both imports and Polish farmers," he added.

The minister strongly emphasized the fact that the authorities will continue to pursue the farming policy laid down a year ago by the PUWP CC Political Bureau and the United Peasant Party Central Committee's Presidium, as was earlier declaredby the Martial Council for National Redemption. Quoting the martial council's firm stand on promoting the production of industrial goods for farming and food economy, the minister said he is optimistic about the prospects in the field.

Minister Wojtecki also said the majority of arrangements included in the above guidelines, as well as in the agreements of Ustrzyki and Rzeszow and in the agreements concluded with the Main Council of the Central Union of Farmer Circles and Organizations, have been and continue to be consistently put into effect.

Present estimates say that farmers' incomes this year will be 6-8 per cent higher than those of non-farmer population, the minister remarked.

OZDOWSKI, 'POLONIA' OFFICIAL DISCUSS COOPERATION

LD052356 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 4 Jan 82

[Text] Deputy Premier Prof Jerzy Ozdowski together with Wieslaw Adamski, government plenipotentiary of the Association for Liaison With Poles Abroad, Polonia, met today in the Council of Ministers' office with Lothar Grabowski, director general of (Consprod). During the meeting Lothar Grabowski stated that the conditions of cooperation with Poland have not been affected or restricted in any way.

Deputy Premier Jerzy Ozdowski stated that the Government of the Polish People's Republic has favorably assessed the economic cooperation with Polonia to date and continues to be interested in the development of the activities of Polonia enterprises in Poland. In this connection the Polish Government will consistently pursue its policy of encouragement, which now constitutes the integral part and a permanent element of the policy of cooperation between Poland and Polonia. This policy is based on the principles of mutual respect for the relevant interests and reciprocal benefits. The deputy premier stressed that the government will continue to give assistance in the solution of current problems in relations between Poland and Polonia. Representatives of Poland will take an active part in the consolidation and improvement of conditions favoring a further development of this sphere of national economy.

KUBIAK CHAIRS PZPR CONFERENCE ON EDUCATION 4 JAN

LD041736 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 4 Jan 82

[Text] A conference of PZPR voivodship committees' secretaries devoted to the most important tasks of education and higher education was held today at the PZPR Central Committee. Hieronim Kubiak, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee chaired the conference.

The conference was attended by Eugeniusz Duraczynski, head of the Department of Education and Science of the PZPR Central Committee; Krzysztof Kostyrko, acting head of the Department of Culture of the PZPR Central Committee; Boleslaw Faron, minister of education and upbringing; Jozef Tejchma, minister of culture and arts; Tadeusz Szelachowski, minister of health and social welfare; Marian Remke, chairman of the Central Committee for Sports and Physical Culture; and Mieczyslaw Kazimierczuk, director of the Ministry of Science, Higher Education and Technology.

LOCAL PZPR ORGANIZATION CONFERENCES REPORTED

LD311840 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 31 Dec 81

[Text] The party is confronted with new tasks in the present, difficult situation and will cope with them, guided by the interests of the country and working people. Such affirmations can be heard at the meetings and conferences of the party organizations and echelons taking place in many localities.

Action is needed to create conditions for thorough, productive and disciplined work and for an atmosphere of sympathy, accord and justice. This is the main theme of the discussion at the workers' aktiv in Turin Voivodship.

In Skierniewice it was stated that it had been impossible to delay any longer the introduction of martial law. Further delay threatened the complete breakdown of the economy, the (?destruction) of the legal order and ultimately civil war. The party must regain the community's trust in its everyday action, in work concerning ostensibly trivial matters. A collossal "work from the foundations" awaits us, it was stressed in the discussion.

In Bydgoszcz, the voivodship information studio has become operational. It prepares a daily 10-minute program for factories' public address systems. The urban party echelons in Bydgoszcz and in Wroclaw have moreover undertaken the publication of bulletin-newspapers, which fill the quite considerable information gap that arose as a result of the suspension of the activity of the local press and radio stations. Similar bulletins, distributed by the Ruch network, are also issued by the voivodship authorities in Torun and Wloclawek.

VOIVODSHIP DEFENSE COMMITTEES' TASKS DESCRIBED

LD021144 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0730 GMT 2 Jan 82

[From the press review]

[Text] TRYBUNA LUDU carries a conversation with Col Zdzislaw Malina, deputy head of the Secretariat of the National Defense Committee. Immediately following 13 December, the voivodship defense committees began to fulfill a primarily organization role. Their activity involved ensuring harmony and order, satisfying the fundamental needs of the people and maintaing the continuity of production. The voivodship defense committees toughened up demands regarding the principle of one-man directorships and regarding the responsibility of voivodas, mayors, chief administrative officers and directors of work enterprises. As a result, some people were recalled from the positions they held.

Among them can be found those who, under normal conditions, worked efficiently and unfortunately did not cope with the new tasks resulting from the specific nature of martial law. In the course of the first week, 90 people were recalled from 34 voivodships, including 5 voivodas, 2 deptuy voivodas, 2 mayors and 81 chief administrative officers. At present, the committees are concentrating their work on ensuring security in the voivodships and on maintaining work discipline.

NATIONAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE DEPUTY INTERVIEWED

AU041517 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 23 Dec 81 p 3

[Andrzej Dzierzanowski interview with Col Zdislaw Malina, deputy chief of the National Defense Committee Secretariat: "Defending Law and Order To Normalize Life -- Plenipotentiaries-Military Commissars" -- date, place not given]

[Excerpts] [Question] The soldiers of the Polish Armed Forces continue to obey the order to save the fatherland at every post, at every combat station and in all corners of the country, maintaining their loyalty to the people, socialist Poland and the military banner. Under the conditions of martial law, officer cadres have also reinforced the bodies responsible for running and administering the state.

[Answer] This is done above all with the help of the institution of the National Defense Committee's plenipotentiaries-military commissars at every level of the state administration and in some economic units. These plenipotentiaries-military commissars have been appointed by the National Defense Committee resolution adopted on the strength of the general military service law of 21 November 1967 and of the decree issued by the minister of national defense.

[Question] The state of martial law does not impair the continuity of the performance of the state and economic administrative bodies. In view of this, do not plenipotentiaries duplicate the managing functions of the administrative bodies?

[Answer] Some people may think so, but there is no duplication and no replacement of any administrative body. It is worth recalling that the local operational military groups began their work before the introduction of martial law and were greatly approved by society. Even at that time the need was seen for the armed forces to "support" and at times to "stimulate" the daily activities of the local bodies of state administration.

[Question] What is the prupose of the plenipotentiaries' work?

[Answer] Closely cooperating with the government and administrative bodies and relying on social militancy, they are expected to sponsor and supervise the implementation of tasks aimed at removing the internal threat, meeting the most vital needs of the population under the conditions of martial law and normalizing social and economic life. The issue is to abolish martial law as soon as possible and to begin overcoming the crisis in the country.

[Question] What is the organizational and functional structure of the institution of the plenipotentiaries-military commissars?

[Answer] In line with the National Defense Committee's resolution, such plenipotentiaries have been appointed to ministries, voivodships, towns, rural parishes and some factories. The chairman of the National Defense Committee, or the committee's secretary authorized by the chairman, appoint or recall the plenipotentiaries, who are regular officers. All plenipotentiaries are subordinated to the committee's chairman -- the premier and chairman of the Military Council for National Salvation.

This organization is adapted to the functioning structure of civil administration, is compatible with the requirements of military organization and is tied to the appropriate levels of military command.

Acting on the authority of the National Defense Committee, the plenipotentiaries-military commissars see that the decisions of the Military Council for National Salvation and the National Defense Committee are implemented. They act strictly in line with the regulations of martial law and observe the principles of one-man management in the existing system of state and economic administrative bodies and the principles of these bodies's responsibility for their own decisions.

The basic function of the plenipotentiaries-military commissars is to supervise the implementation of the tasks posed by the state council's decree on martial law and by the regulations stemming from this law. One aspect of this function is to collect information about the social situation and moods and the actual state of the implementation of tasks, and to draw up analyses.

[Question] What could you say about the work of the plenipotentiaries in the past week or so?

[Answer] Some units of our armed forces had to leave their barracks to restore law and order countrywide. The order given to this effect was received with a sense of tremendous responsibility. The initial evalutations show that the officers at their combat stations in rural parishes, towns, factories and state and economic administrative bodies are properly discharged in their duties. This is the primary -- today the most important -- line of soldierly work: the struggle for the state's security, for meeting the population's vital needs, for the working of the economy and for an undistrubed production process. The plenipotentiaries are asserting that -- following the introduction of martial law -- society's discipline has improved with each passing day.

The work done by the plenipotentiaries-military commissars is helping to improve the performance of industrial administration, as indicated by the communique issued by the Military Council for National Salvation. Such improvements are among the most important tasks we have been charged with.

SOLIDARITY 'DISTORTIONS' OF SITUATION CITED

LD042168 Warsaw PAP in English 2005 GMT 4 Jan 82

[Text] Warsaw, 4 Jan (PAP) -- Throughout the last 16 days or so, activists of the Solidarnosc union made many statements about Poland during their official trips abroad, which were used in the West to distort the image of Poland and to assess the situation in Poland partially.

Here are some examples of public statements made by Solidarnosc activists:

"Solidarnosc would welcome a resolute standpoint of the U.S. administration with respect to a possible change in Poland. The union's leadership is interested in Washington's reactions in case of an intervention by Warsaw Treaty forces or reprisals against Solidarnosc activists," said Anerzej Rozplochowski, chairman of the union's Katowice chapter during talks in the U.S. Embassy in Rome, January 1981.

"Solidarnosc is ready for armed struggle in case of a Soviet military intervention. The union can at any time instigate a division in the (PUWP) Political Bureau but is not doing so now because this would hasten the Soviet intervention," said Stefan Lewandowski, member of the Gdansk chapter board, during a meeting with the Dutch Labour Party leader in March 1981.

"Our point is that the state, party or other organizations should not govern over us. Therefore our union, which emerged as a grass-roots movement, and which emerges from, among others, these meetings will be a new international Solidarity," said Jan Rulewski, Bydgoszcz chapter leader, at a meeting with Japanese trade unionists in May 1981.

"The government will be forced to step down in the face of Solidarnosc's demands, as now, due to a complete lack of credibility of the authorities and a lack of public trust in them, only this union can call upon the people in Poland to work, to save the economy and secure the further functioning of the state, and it will not do it unless it has adequate guarantees for itself. Not until we overthrow communism will it be possible to use this experience," said Zbigniew Bujak, president of the Warsaw chapter of Solidarnosc during a stay in the FRG and a meeting in the Polish church in Frankfurt-am-Mein, October 1981.

When in April 1981 officials of the Polish Foreign Ministry held talks with leaders of Solidarnosc National Consultative Commission on the international activity of the union, deputy chairman of Solidarnosc, Bogdan Lis firmly rejected the objection raised by the government side that some actions taken by the union's representatives abroad were contrary to the Polish reason of state.

Yet, in September the delegates of the first Solidarnosc's national congress in Gdansk issued a message to the nations of Eastern Europe. The message was an explicit form of instruction for those societies saying what, in Solidarnosc's opinion, true democracy is, what the labour movement is and what it should be like. This was an open interference in internal life of those nations.

Solidarnosc made use of financial aid provided first of all by labour and inter-union organizations operating in West European countries and the United States, and also by other neighbour organizations and private persons.

The biggest reactionary American labour organization AFL-CIO financed the Solidarnosc information centre set up in the heart of New York City in 1981 by Zygmunt Maria Przetakiewicz, an activist of the union's Warsaw chapter.

From abroad Solidarnosc received, among other things, 118 duplicators, 28 photocopying machines, 24 xerographic machines, 25 offset printing-presses, 10 copiers, 74 typewriters, 3 machines for producing printing plates, and many tonnes of paper, hundreds of kilogrammes of printing inks, film cameras, video equipment (a camera, three video recorders, two monitors).

Already after the introduction of martial law in Poland more than 20 Solidarnosc's activists met in Geneva. They issued an appeal to Western governments and trade unions for the suspension of any economic aid for the Polish Government.

BRANCH TRADE UNIONIST SEES NEED FOR MARTIAL LAW

AU041258 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 28 Dec 81 p 3

[Maria Zmigrodzka interview with Konstanty Golik, main broad chairman of the Communal and Local Economy Workers Trade Union: "Those Who Have Remained Can Be Counted On" -- capitalized passes printed in boldface]

[Text] THE DECISION SUSPENDING TRADE UNION ACTIVITY HAS AFFECTED, AS IS KNOWN, ALL STREAMS IN THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT. WE HAD A CONVERSATION ON THIS TOPIC WITH KONSTANTY GOLIK, MAIN BOARD CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMUNCAL AND LOCAL ECONOMY WORKERS TRADE UNION.

[Question] How did you receive the need to suspend your activity?

[Answer] We received it with understanding, although we are free of the blame for the situation that has arisen in the country.

Martial law -- and a signficant part of precisely our union members work at militarized enterprises -- calls for restrictions in civil and workers freedoms, and thus also in trade union freedoms.

[Question] Before the proclamation of martial law, you had begun many moves to improve the situation of workers....

[Answer] We were in the process of implementing many proposals, postulates and the decisions of our union's national extraordinary congress. Talks were in progress with ministries, in particular on the subject of making uniform the regulations concerning length of service in all branches, municipal economy workers cards, wages for housekeepers, and so forth. As far as current affairs are concerned, we made plans for Christmas holidays, assigned places in sanatoriums and resorts for the coming year. We had to suspend all those normal trade union activities, not without detriment to the interests of workers, but with understanding for the superior need.

[Question] And what are your present intentions?

[Answer] We are now, in particular, handing over trade union properties to state administration. We are trying to do that sensibly, so that they be able to perform its present functions and be able to be resotred with the least trouble when unions resume their activities. Thus, while handing over our four sanatoriums to the Ministry of Health, we leave there our personel, complete equipment, and so forth. In agreement with the president of Warsaw City, we are continuing to run our dining room in the union's main board building, because it is patronized by workers from the neighboring enterprises.

[Question] It is not known how long trade union activity will be suspended. Are not you afraid that in the meantime you lose many aktivs?

[Answer] After August [1980], ONLY THOSE MEMBERS REMAINED WITH US WHO BELIEVED IN THE SENSE OF THE BRANCH MOVEMENT, PEOPLE DEVOTED TO THAT MOVEMENT. I AM CONFIDENT THAT, AS SOON AS THERE ARE CONDITIONS FOR ACTIVE WORK, THEY WILL RETURN TO IT. I ALSO KNOW THAT IN THE PRESENT DIFFICULT PERIOD THEY ARE DOING THEIR UTMOST TO MAINTAIN IN THEIR COLLECTIVES PEACE, ORDER AND UNDERSTANDING FOR PRECEPTS STEMMING FROM MARTIAL LAW. THEY ARE AWARE THAT THAT IS WHAT THE COUNTRY AND THE WORKING PEOPLE NEED MOST, BECAUSE THAT IS A CONDITION FOR NORMALIZING THE SITUATION.

Indeed, in recent months we -- that part of collectives which remained in the union, aktivs at enterprises who did not break down and let themselves be disheartened under the political pressure, members of democratically elected bodies who continued their union activity "against the stream" -- have proved to be people who needed wach other. Certainly, the union has shrunk very much, but at the same time it has probably strengthened, has become more authentic, closer to human needs. For this reason I think that WHILE NOT ENGAGED IN NORMAL WORK, TRADE UNION MEMBERS CONTINUE TO PRESERVE IN THEIR COLLECTIVES THEIR IDENTITY, CONTINUE TO BE CONSCIOUS AND ACTIVE PEOPLE SENSITIVE TO THE VITAL NEEDS OF THEIR COMPANIONS, people shaped by our union.

After all, municipal economy workers can really be counted on. Services on which the lives of cities and communities simply depend -- water supply workers, boiler operators and cleaners -- have been working always, even under the most difficult conditions. And they did not despair, although they have been working under difficult conditions, cold or heat, rain or drought.

[Question] What is your idea about resumed activity? Where, in your opinion, will you have to start?

[Answer] I find it difficult to answer the question formulated in this way. Of course, we will accept some sort of general formula restoring trade union activities. In my personal opinion, the adoption of a trade union act should provide the key to the matter. The achievement of an elementary normalization of life in the country and the extinguishing of hotbeds of unrest at enterprises are, in my view, a basis for reviving the union, a law regarded by the entire trade union movement and the administration as its inviolable right. AND WHERE WILL WE START WHEN WE ARE ABLE TO START? WE WILL START AT THE POINT AT WHICH WE SUSPENDED OUR ACTIVITY ON 13 DECEMBER, FROM OUR DAILY ROUTINE TRADE UNIONWORK IN LINE WITH OUR STATUTES, WORK PERHAPS NOT EFFECTIVE, BUT NECESSARY FOR PEOPLE.

SOLIDARITY OFFICIALS MEET VOIVODA, KOK OFFICIAL

LD041508 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1307 GMT 4 Jan 82

[Text] GAZETA ROBOTNICZA, which is again appearing under its former title, publishes a report on the meeting between the Wroclaw voivoda and the National Defense Committee [KOK] plenipotentiary and a group of Solidarity activists. The title of the report is: "We Came for a Spark of Hope." Here is the report.

On New Year's Eve, five activists from Solidarity, which is currently suspended under the provisions of martial law, paid an unexpected visit to the Wroclaw voivoda, Janusz Owczarek and to the KOK plenipotentiary in Wroclaw, Maj Gen Kazimierz Stec. The voivodship administrative office was visited by Jerzy Piorkowski, leader of the August strike in Wroclaw and then, up to March 1981, chairman of lower Silesia Solidarity; Tadeusz Jankowski, head of social activity of the regional main board of lower Silesia NSZZ Solidarity; Bogulsaw Zebrowski, chairman of the former Interfactory Founding Committee [MKZ]; Tomasz Surowiec, treasurer of the former MKZ and then [word indistinct] in the regional main board; and Andrzej Blaszczyk, deputy chairman of Solidarity in [name indistinct].

The Solidarity activists stressed that they fully understand the current situation and the need to suspend trade-union activity. They also said that they will renew their appeal to colleagues to create an atmosphere of calm and deliberation.

This statement met with the recognition both from the voivoda and the KOK plenipotentiary, who expressed their conviction that similar appeals will continue to be received with understanding by society.

Much was said about people who have been interned and also about the current living conditions of full-time employees of the regional main board and their families. Jerzy Piorkowski said: We have come here on our own initiative. We saw it as our moral duty to show an interest in the fate of these people. We have come to get a little spark of hope.

Maj Gen Kazimierz Stec recognized these motives as justified. Please believe me that the introduction of a state of martial law and all these rigors was essential. As life stabilizes these rigors will be alleviated.

As for those interned, some of them have already been released. We are counting on this process continuing and we hope that these people will stop antistate activity. It must be stressed that our propaganda is the propaganda of truth. We have given the true figures for the number of people interned. Rumors have exaggerated them. Perhaps it springs from the fact that many people are hiding even from their families, because they are afraid of the very possibility of internment.

Voivoda Janusz Owczarek and Maj Gen Kazimierz Stec declared that all full-time employees of the regional board of NSZZ Solidarity should now turn up for work at their normal place of employment; and they asked to be notified immediately if there are any complications.

The matter of the employment of Tomasz Surowiec in the urban transport enterprise was settled almost on the spot. There may be certain troubles with employment for those people who, before coming to the regional main board, did not work anywhere; but their problems will be settled quickly. The employment department of the voivodship administrative office has already received appropriate instructions.

Tadeusz Jankowski made a request to permit the resumption of the regional main board's social activity, out of concern for the interned. However, he did not obtain agreement to that because, as General Stec stated, trade union activity is completely suspended and the families of these people are being looked after by institutions such as the Polish Red Cross and the Polish Social Assistance Committee.

The issue of Wladyslaw Frasyniuk, chairman of the regional main board, also came up. Following the introduction of martial law he tried to organize protest actions and strikes and he is now in hiding. Major General Stec said that in a certain sense the amnesty decree has even been extended in his regard because both he and the voivodship prosecutor, in a letter addressed to Frasyniuk and published by MONITOR DOLNOSLASKI called on the chairman to come out of hiding voluntarily, something that would have an effect on the proceedings. However, the summons has remained unanswered.

The Solidarity activists present at the meeting said that they had expected Frasyniuk to be more sensible. We are sorry for him and his family, they said, but after all he is a grown man and should realize that the situation is as it is and [words indistinct].

Voivoda Janusz Owczarek expressed the hope that in the future, after the lifting of the state of martial law, cooperation between the voivodship authorities and the trade unions will develop successfully. He stressed at this point his past good contacts with Jerzy Piorkowski and Boguslaw Zebrowski. On many issues, we reached agreement very nicely.

REPORTAGE OF ARRESTS, TRIALS UNDER MARTIAL LAW

Radio-TV Officials Trial 5 Jan

LD042106 Warsaw PAP in English 2000 GMT 4 Jan 82

[Text] Warsaw, 4 Jan (PAP) -- The trial begins tomorrow at the voivodship court in Warsaw of the former leadership of the Committee for Radio and Television. The 5 defendants are: Macieu Szczepanski, former president of the committee; Eugeniusz Patyk, former deputy president; Jerzy Hanbowski, former director general; Zbigniew Liszyk, former secretary general; and Jadwiga Talachowa, former head of the social bureau.

Several dozen other people implicated in a number of abuses in the work of the Committee for Radio and Television in the years 1972-1980 will be indicted separately.

The investigation at the committee lasted for over a year and the immensity of the undertaking can be illustrated by the fact that about 1000 witnesses' testimonies have been collected and over 70 volumes of documents have been gathered.

Szczepanski is accused among others things of appropriating public property worth at least Z3,750,000, accepting bribes from foreign firms worth over one and a half million zlotys, failing to meet his duties and abusing his authority which cost the committee over Z212 million.

Patyk's [word indistinct] appropriating at the committee's expense of almost 4 million zlotys, accepting bribes worth over Z1.2 million and causing losses in excess of Z207 million.

Hanbowski is accused among other things of accepting bribes from a foreign firm worth 250 thousand zlotys and of appropriating hard currency destined for business trips abroad.

The original date for the trial, 14 January 1982, was brought forward in the second half of December. The defendants, with the exception of Jadwiga Talachowa, are under temporary arrest.

Radio-TV Officials Trial Begins

LD051148 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 5 Jan 82

[Text] The trial of the former management of the Radio and Television Committee began at the Warsaw Voivodship Court todat at 0930.

The accused standing trial are: Maciej Szczepanski, the former chairman of the Radio and Television Committee; Eugeniusz Patyrk, the former deputy chairman; Jerzy Hanbowski, the former director general; Zbigniew Liszyk, the former general secretary and Jadwige Talachowa, the former director of the social welfare office.

A few dozen other persons will stand trial separately on other charges.

Strike Activist Sentenced

LD042158 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 2100 GMT 4 Jan 82

[Text] According to a press spokesman for the Justice Ministry, voivodship courts have passed more summary sentences. Among others, the Szczecin Voivodship Court sentenced Zdzislaw Kasprzak, on the basis of article 46, paragraphs one and two of the martial law decree, to 3 years deprivation of freedom and the loss of public rights for 3 years. Zdzislaw Kasprzak was charged with having taken an active part in organizing a strike in the Szczecin shipyard on 13 and 14 December last year.

More Proceedings Noted

LD042204 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 2109 GMT 4 Jan 82

[Text] The press spokesman for the general prosecutor's office reports that over the last 2 days, military and civil prosecutors started more summary proceedings against those charged with violating the martial law decree regulations.

Persons charged with common crimes have been temporarily arrested. A total of 75 people have been arrested and charged with burglary and looting.

More crimes involving active attacks on civic militia functionaries and soldiers of the Polish People's Army have been noted.

Interned Solidarity Members

AU041255 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 17 Dec 81 p 5

[PAP report: "Interned Extreme Activists of Solidarity and of Illegal Antistate Organizations"]

[Text] On the strength of the State Council's decree of 13 December 1981 on martial law, a group of extreme activists of Solidarity and illegal antistate organizations have been interned. They also include the following:

Edward Borowski, chairman of the Solidarity regional board in Gorzow Wielkopolski; Edmund Baluka, founder of the so-called Polish socialist labor party and Solidarity member.

Ryszard Blaszczak, member of the Solidarity National Commission Presidium; Piotr Baumgart, member of Solidarity private farmers board; Jacek Bartyzel, activist of the so-called young Poland movement; Kyzysztof Bzdyl, activist of the so-called Confederation for an Independent Poland; Seweryn Blumsztajn, activist of the former KOR organization; Ryszard Bugaj, expert of the Solidarity National Commission; Wladyslaw Bartoszewski, collaborator of the former KOR organization.

Benedykt Czuma, activities of the so-called movement for defense of human and civic rights; Jan Chmielewski, activist of the so-called Confederation for an Independent Poland; Miroslav Chojecki, activist of the former KOR organization; Tadeusz Chmielewski, chairman of the Solidarity regional board in Elblag.

Leonard Duszenko, member of the Solidarity regional board presidium of Wielkopolska Poludniowa and activist of the so-called movement for defense of human and civic rights.

Andrzej Gwiazda, member of the Solidarity National Commission; Bronislaw Geremek, expert of the Solidarity National Commission; Krzysztof Golawski, activist of the so-called Confederation for an Independent Poland; Andrzej Golawski, activist of the so-called Confederation for an Independent Poland.

Marian Jurczyk, chairman of the Solidarity regional board in Szczecin and member of the Solidarity National Commission; Seweryn Jaworski, member of the Solidarity Mazowsze regional board and member of the National Commission.

Wojciech Karpinski, activist of the former KOR organization; Czeslaw Kijanka, chairman of the Solidarity regional board in Przemysl; Antoni Kopaczewski, chairman of the Solidarity regional board in Rzeszow; Jacek Kuron, leading activist of the former KOR organization and Solidarity expert; Wieslaw Kniter, collaborator of the former KOR organization; Wieslaw Kecik, activist of the former KOR organization.

Jan Litynski, activist of the former KOR organization; Kyzysztof Lemanski, activist of the former KOR organization.

Karol Modzelewski, member of the Solidarity National Commission; Adam Michnik, activist of the former KOR organization; Jacek Merkel, member of the Solidarity National Commission Presidium; Emil Morgiewicz, activist of the movement for defense of human and civic rights; Antoni Macierewicz, activist of the former KOR organization; Tadeusz Mazowiecki, chief editor of the Solidarnosc weekly; Michal Masior, member of the Solidarity regional board of Silesia-Dabrowa region and member of the National Commission; Boguslaw Mikus, chairman of the Solidarity regional board of Ziemia Chelmska; Eugeniusz Matyjas, chairman of the Solidarity regional board in Lexzno.

Janusz Onyszkiewicz, press spokesman for the Solidarity Mazowsze regional board.

Grzegorz Palka, member of the Solidarity regional board of Ziemia Lodzka and member of the National Commission Presidium; Antoni Pietkiewicz, chairman of the Solidarity regional board of Wielkopolska Polundiowa; Andzej Piesiak, chairman of the Solidarity regional board in Jelenia Gora; Henryk Piwowarczyk, secretary of the Solidarity regional board of Wielkopolska Poludniowa and activist of the so-called Confederation for an Independent Poland; Jozef Patyna, member of the Solidarity regional board of Silesia-Dabrowa region and member of the National Commission.

Jaroslaw Rypniewski, chairman of the so-called the young Poland movement in Gdansk; Jan Rulewski, chairman of the Solidarity regional board in Bydgoszcz; Zbigniew Romaszewski, activist of the former KOR organization and member of the Solidarity National Commission; Andrzej Rozplochowski, activist in Solidarity Silesia-Dabrowa region.

Alojzy Szablewski, Solidarity activist; Andrzej Sobieraj, chairman of the Solidarity regional board of Ziemia Radomska; Waclaw Sikora, chairman of the so-called Confederation for an Independent Poland; Stanislaw Sikora, activist of the so-called Confederation for an Independent Poland; Jozef Sreniowski, activist of the former KOR organization; Antoni Tokarczuk, secretary of the Solidarity National Commission.

Henryk Wujec, member of the Solidarity Mazowsze regional board and activist of the former KOR organization; Jan Waszkiewicz, member of the Solidarity National Commission Presidium; Stanislaw Wadolowski, deputy chairman of the Solidarity National Commission; Zygmunt Zawojski, chairman of the Solidarity regional board in Sub-Buskids.

WRAP-UP OF CURRENT INTERNAL SITUATION NOTED

Low Meat Procurement Noted

LD041604 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 4 Jan 82

[Summary] Last year, a total of somewhat above 1.46 million tons of livestock from slaughter were procured from private and socialized farms; this is more than 30 percent less then in the previous year. Such a low procurement of meat as now has not been noted since 1973. In the final days of December, procurement points received from farmers about 2,000 tons of livestock for slaughter, whereas the daily market requirement for meat is 6,000 tons.

In the first 3 days of the new year, almost 54 million liters of milk were procured. On 3 January almost19 million liters were procured -- 420,000 liters more than on the same day last year.

Spirits Production Down

LD050200 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0100 GMT 5 Jan 82

[Text] Last year the (Polmos) spirits enterprise supplied to retail trade and catering enterprises 140 million liters of pure and high-quality vodka, which converted into pure spirits, is over 43 million liters of alcoholic beverages, less than in 1980. In Poland, 14 million liters of alcoholic products were sold in the Pewex enterprise for hard currency. Including the sale of alcohol by Baltona and Agros enterprises, somewhat more than 20 million liters of vodka were exported, which is almost 9 million liters less than the previous year. The export of pure spirits also fell.

The fundamental cause of the fall in the supply of alcoholic products, both to the home market and for export, was a shortage of the raw material, above all potatoes. The current year does not look like it will bring any decisive improvement. The (Polmos) enterprise has even announced that supplies of vodka will be lower by 5 million liters. However, there is a hope that in the spring, after the mounds of potatoes being stored over the winter have been opened up, a considerable amount of potatoes not fit for direct consumption will be turned up and it will be possible to set them aside for producing [word indistinct].

Situation in Schools

LD042340 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 4 Jan 82

[Text] After a 22-day holiday break, primary, secondary, vocational and grammar schools resumed work today. Lessons are being held according to the programs endorsed for the 1981-82 school year. For the time being studying on free Saturdays is not envisaged, although school directors have the right to organize additional lessons for that day depending on the degree to which curricula are being implemented.

Today, in many schools, especially in the higher grades of secondary schools, meetings between young people and representatives of the Polish Army took place. Part of the lessons were devoted to the current situation in the country. Sociopolitical problems were explained as well as the duties which martial law entails.

Communications Links To Resume

LD041840 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 4 Jan 82

[Text] The minister of internal affairs introduces the partial lifting of restrictions arising from martial law in the voivodships in which the state of safety and public order is improving. In agreement with the minister of communications, he has instructed that telephone and telex communication begin with effect from tomorrow within voivodships. This instruction applies to telephone subscribers in the following 10 voivodships: Biala Podlaska, Jelenia Gora, Kalisz, Konin, Koszalin, Przemsyl, Skierniewice, Slupsk, Suwalki and Wloclawek.

Work Begins at Lenin Shipyard

LD041628 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1527 GMT 4 Jan 82

[Roman Luczkowski dispatch from Gdansk]

[Excerpts] Monday, 4 January was the first day of work in the Lenin shipyard in Gdansk this year. Today, work in the largest production plant on the coast was started by the workforce of the majority of departments, with the exception of the hull sections, which will begin production the day after tomorrow.

Practically all the shipyards of the tri-city have begun production activity. And so, in the Gdansk repair shipyard, the shipyard workers began repair work on five general cargo vessels of the Polish Steamship Company [PZM]. This particularly applies to the PZM tankers that carry liquid sulpher, which last year took out for export from Gdansk, mainly to Western ports, almost 8 million tons of liquid sulphur.

The fleet of large tankers which carried petroleum last year carried a little more than 4 million tons of that raw material, mainly between foreign ports. At the present moment the MS Czantoria is in the Atlantic with 129 thousand tons of Iranian petroleum which is being transported to the Gdansk refinery. This tanker is expected in the next few days in the northern port [in Gdansk].

Classes Resume in Gdansk

LD042130 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 4 Jan 82

[Excerpt] Gdansk, Gdynia, Sopot and in the rest of the Gdansk Voivodship normal lessons began in primary and secondary level schools. The attendance of pupils and teachers was better today than before 13 December. [passage indistinct] the lessons passed in a profoundly solemn mood. No incidents were noted in any of the schools. In every class the school day either started with an address by the school directors or with teachers explaining to the pupils the principles of the martial law or with normal lessons. Where the day started with normal lessons, an explanation on the implications of the martial law were given during the civic education lessons.

2 Jan Industrial Activity

LD021516 Warsaw PAP in English 1420 GMT 2 Jan 82

[Text] Warsaw, 2 Jan (PAP) -- This year's first Saturday in Warsaw is devoted to (?relaxation) and shopping. Food shops, those selling industrial goods, and supermarkets are open today. Warsaw's big industrial plants, except continuous-production enterprises like the Warszawa steel mill, the Polfa pharmaceutical works of Tarchomin, bakeries and other similar plants, have a day free today. The cargo reloading rate at the city's railway stations today is estimated at 30 percent. Warsaw is continually receiving food and industrial goods coming in from the Soviet Union and the GDR mainly.

Today is a work-free day for most plants and institutions in Silesia, though not for hard coal mines. The latter have ordered railways cars to take 438 thousand tons of coal today. Operating also are steel mills and other continuous-production plants in the region. Taking advantage of a lower demand for electric power, power stations stepped up repair and conservation works.

Food Stores Working Normally

LD021720 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1600 GMT 2 Jan 82

[Text] Today all Warsaw food stores were operating as on a normal working day. Supplies of basic commodities were adequate. It is worth recalling that as from today rationed sales of whole milk with a 3.5 percent fat content have been introduced. Each child is allowed 1 liter of this milk daily.

Torun Social Accord Commission

LD022010 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 2 Dec 81

[Text] On the civic initiative of all circles a municipal commission for social accord has been set up in Torun. The commission has addressed an appeal to people of good will. It states that in the present situation which is of crucial significance for the nation, every Pole, irrespective of his outlook on the world, ought to make a contribution to securing calm and order and to overcoming the deep economic crisis. The commission has also declared itself in favor of continuing the post-August processes of the democratization of sociopolitical life. It has itself the task of uniting the community on the basis of civic and patriotic responsibility for the country's fate, and it has appealed for works and local commissions for social accord to be created.

Katowice Enterprises Normal

LD041622 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 4 Jan 82

[Text] The first ordinary working day in the new year has so far passed calmly and without disturbance in the Katowice Voivodship. Production at enterprises has, on the whole, been normal. Among other places, the Tychy compact car factory showed good attendance on the first shift. The improved functioning of the mining industry is attested to by the daily increasing requirement for empty railway rolling stock on which to load coal. Today, miners have ordered wagons totalling 471,600 tons of coal-loading capacity. The Ziemowit and Piast collieries are gradually returning to their full mining capacity. At Ziemowit Colliery, the first shift mined about 7,500 tons of coal today. The normal mining capacity of this colliery over the three shifts, amounts to over 23,000 tons.

Labor Discipline Improves

LD051140 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0600 GMT 5 Jan 82

[Excerpt] Reports arriving from the Lenin steelworks show a tangible improvement in labor discipline. As compared with the fourth quarter of last year daily and quarterly production plans have been considerably increased. Yesterday, the blast-furnaces and coking plants implemented 96 percent of planned tasks. Even better results were achieved by cold and hot sheet mills as well as (?plate) mills which fulfilled 118 to 160 percent of their daily plan.

Party Activists Meet 30 Dec

LD311914 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 31 Dec 81

[Text] The topic of the day at the Lenin steelworks was yesterday's meeting of a 300-strong group of party activists from the works with Krystyn Dabrowa, first secretary of the Krakow party committee, and [name indistinct], Politburo plenipotentiary. The starting point for the discussion was the report by the executive of the factory party committee delivered by Kazimierz Miniur, first secretary of the factory committee and Central Committee member. The largest party organization in the country, numbering over 7,000 members, soon recovered from the strike shock and is attempting to make good the lost ground.

It is impossible to list all those who took part in the discussion, but it will be done at the next meeting of the executive of the factory party committee, which pledged to formulate a program for the party organization in the Lenin steelworks.

One must mention Waclaw Matoga from the repair department of the steelworks, who aptly described those who detached themselves from workers and tried to join the nobility class and shut the door behind them. The only chance for national accord is honesty and consistency in action by every party member.

In a courageous speech, Wladyslaw Peszko from the repair department agreed that the wide participation of the workforce in strike actions was not only the result of moral and physical blackmail by extremists but also is a sad testimony to the weakness of many party members and to unsuccessful party propaganda. We must not forget 13 December, because it is the date of an important political lesson.

Today Gen Leon Sulima, plenipotentiary of the National Defense Council, attended a meeting of steelworkers convened to mark the end of the year. Several steelworkers were presented with state and ministerial awards.

Bydgoszcz Escapee Recaptured

LD041952 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1900 GMT 4 Jan 82

[Text] At approximately 1030 Today, functionaries of the municipal headuarters of the Citizens' Militia in Warsaw went to an apartment in the center of the capital to detain an armed criminal who was in hiding. The man, when urged to surrender, began shooting at the functionaries, hitting a bullet-proof shield. The functionary returned the fire and badly wounded the criminal. The wounded man is 28-year-old Andrzej (Klebcarz) who escaped from the Bydgoszcz detention center during the mass escape in September last year.

He is now under arrest, charged with attempting to commit homicide. Found in the apartment where the criminal was hiding were two grenades and a tear gas container, as well as the man's gun and ammunition. The military prosecutor's office is conducting an investigation.

Rail Traffic Increasing

LD031340 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 3 Jan 82

[Text] Our Bydgoszcz correspondent Jacek Kurzawski reports that in that region's state railways directorate, a considerable increase in rail traffic can be observed, in spite of the state of martial law. The railwaymen are feeling the effect of increased production by the miners. From tomorrow, a great many more coal trucks will be sent from the Bydgoszcz region to Silesia. There may, however, be certain cutbacks for other rail customers. Our Bydgoszcz correspondent also reports that, apart from a few cases resulting from technical inspections, no significant delays of passenger trains have been noted.

Szczecin Working Normally

LD041720 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 4 Jan 82

[Marek Borowiec report from Szczecin]

[Excerpt] Today all works and enterprises in Szczecin Voivodship resumed normal work. After a 2-week break, the Szczecin shipyard "Adolf Warski" has also resumed work. During that period only the maintenance services worked at the shipyard since it was necessary to maintain certain pieces of equipment and all production systems in running order so that normal work could be resumed today. The production started some time earlier at the K-1 and K-2 departments in order to check the sheet metal processing system. The shipyard management prepared two production variants for the next few days based on the availability of supplies and weather conditions.

Although there is a break in training at higher education institutions, a plenary meeting of the school party committee was held last week at Szczecin Technical University, the largest higher education institution in the Western Pomorze region. A new executive body and new first secretary were elected by secret ballot. Prof Zygmunt (?Filski), dean of the faculty of economics and transport engineering, was elected first secretary.

Nearly 100 ships of the Polish Steamship Company's fleet are presently at sea or in foreign ports; the bulk of them in the Atlantic or the Mediterranean.

Szczecin Curfew Shortened

LD021128 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 2 Jan 82

[Text] In connection with the gradual improvement in public order and social discipline in Szczecin Voivodship, the Szczecin voivoda, on the recommendation of the voivodship's Citizens' Militia commandant, in conjunction with the minister of internal affairs, has introduced, as of yesterday, a shortening of the curfew in the voivodship. It is now in force in Szczecin Voivodship from 2300-0500.

Activity at Port Complexes

LD021300 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1200 GMT 2 Jan 82

[Text] The role of the Szczecin-Swinoujscie port complex as a transit depot for GDR goods is growing. Last year was a good year in this respect. As reported during the recent deliberations of the Interport international economic organization's council, 18 percent of GDR goods passing through Polish ports were transloaded at the wharves of Szczecin and Swinoujscie over the past 12 months.

In total, 857,000 tons of goods imported or exported by our Western neighbors by sea were transloaded in Szczecin, Swinoujscie, Gdansk and Gdynia last year.

After Czechoslovakia the GDR is the second transit customer as regards size of transhipments at the Szczecin-Swinoujscie port complex. At present, as a result of the considerable drop in supply of goods in Polish foreign trade, a major transloading potential has been released, which can be used (?more and more fully) to service GDR cargoes.

Soviet Goods Received

LD021256 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1200 GMT 2 Jan 82

[Text] In the first days of the new year, the railway stations of Geniusze and Siemionowka in Bialystok Voivodship have received 6,000 tons of rice from the Soviet Union. Large amounts of gasoline are also being received at the Bialystok region dry ports, 4,000 tons in 24 hours. Cotton and other goods are also being received. Today, both stations are to transload a total of about 9,000 tons of goods.

Road, Air, Rail Activity

LD021154 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0600 GMT 2 Jan 82

[Text] Malaszewicze railway station staff have fully implemented their tasks for the past 24 hours, transloading large amounts of fuel and foodstuffs imported from the Soviet Union, mainly meat and rice. Road transport functioned efficiently, although state motor transport was cancelled on some routes for technical reasons.

In line with earlier announcements, charter aircraft left Warsaw's Okecie Airport for Damascus, Montreal and Malta. The LOT aircraft to Damascus and Valetta returned to Poland the same day.

Transloading work continued in the tri-city ports on the first day of the new year, mainly on vessels carrying foodstuffs. 23 vessels, 20 of them flying the Polish flag, were moored in Gdansk port, while in Gdynia port, the number of moored vessels was 33.

Rail Customers Criticized

LD030006 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1600 GMT 2 Jan 82

[Krzysztof Czerwiecki Lublin dispatch]

[Text] Lublin rail workers have transloaded more than 5,000 tons of goods from the Soviet Union, including fuel and timber, in Dorohusk in the first 24 hours of the new year. A total of 50,000 tons of goods have been transloaded in the eastern district state rail management area.

Although rail workers are working well, martial law has unfortunately not become a stimulus for better work for everyone. In Lublin on the first day of the new year customers of the Eastern district state railways management area failed to unload 176 freight cars which they ought to empty and hand back to the rail men. The rural transport cooperative and the central petroleum products organization are among those guilty of this.

Movie Theaters To Reopen

LD042112 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1900 GMT 4 Jan 82

[Text] As of 5 January, cinemas will reopen in Lodz. Cinemas in (Ozorkow?), Pabianice, Alaeksandrov and Zgierz will also be opened. Also, as of 5 January, the state puppet theater, "Arleking" will reopen.

LOK CHAIRMAN JAGAS SUMMARIZES ACTIVITIES

LD050608 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0500 GMT 5 Jan 82

[Text] Lt Gen Waclaw Jagas, chairman of the main board of the League of National Defense [LOK], a patriotic and defense organization with some 2.5 million members, talked to PAP on the league's activity last year and on the most important areas of its work this year. Despite the social tension and the deepening economic difficulties which were characteristic of 1981, LOK members -- mostly officers in the Polish People's Army reserves -- jointly participated in undertakings aimed at strengthening social discipline, harmony and public order and at strengthening the realistic patriotic forces of the nation in their activities to rescue our fatherland and to fortify the nation's defenses [obronnosci]. This year, the general said, we will undertake further efforts to achieve greater effects for more economical expenditures. (?We honestly aim to bring in other social and sporting organizations in particular into upbringing work.)

In all voivodships we will develop activities which confirm the correctness of the work of the Military Council of National Salvation. It is worth adding that the reservist officers belonging to LOK for many weeks have been effectively supporting the army units and military commissars, the local operational groups and also the forces of order in strengthening harmony, order and social discipline. LOK members are participating also in the activity of local committees of national salvation, civil defense detachments and the civic militia, Gen Waclaw Jagas added.

LOT GIVES 5-10 JAN CHARTER FLIGHTS' SCHEDULE

LD041910 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 4 Jan 82

[Summary] The Polish airline LOT informs us that the following charter flights will take place from 5-10 January:

On 5 January at 1500 to Montreal, at 1740 to Budapest;

On 6 January at 1305 to Copenhagen;

On 7 January at 0740 to Algiers, at 0820 to Rome;

On 8 January at 0900 to Stockholm, at 1135 to Tripoli, at 1500 to Montreal;

On the 9 January at 1610 to Damascus and Istanbul;

On the 10 January at 0800 to London, at 1530 to Paris.

These flights are earmarked exclusively for the transport of foreign nationals, Polish citizens travelling on official business and the return of Polish citizens from the aforementioned airports.

Passengers are requested to report to the Okecie Airport in Warsaw 2 hours before departure time as there may be changes in departure times.

POLONIA SOCIETY SENDS MESSAGE TO CITIZENS ABROAD

LD312102 Warsaw PAP in English 2022 GMT 31 Dec 81

[Text] Warsaw, 31 Dec (PAP) -- The Presidium of "Polonia" Society for contacts with Poles living abroad, which gathered here today under the chairmanship of the society's president, Deputy President of the Council of State, Tadeusz Mylnczak, adopted a New Year's message to all Poles and persons of Polish descent who live outside Poland.

The message which defines the society's attitude to the latest developments in Poland expresses a hope (?for) favourable development of situation in this country, for agreement of all patriotic forces and return to normal life in Poland.

The message also expresses a desire to preserve the sense of national unity and Polonia's ties with Poland [as received].

The direct contacts between Polonia and their native country [as received] over the decades have been reflected in its lively involvement in Poland's affairs -- from independence struggle to assistance in rebuilding the country after the war, propagation of its attainments throughout the world and in the present difficult situation of Polish society -- aid in the form of food and medicines, the message stresses.

Cooperation with Polonia is not only the best will of Poles but also an integral factor of Polish policy. It is the noble duty of the "Polonia" society to serve the idea of Polonia's bonds with their native country [as received], and it will, as so far, be doing its utmost for the development of cordial mutual contacts, says the message which ends with best wishes and greetings for all Poles living abroad.

FRIENDSHIP SOCIETY CHAIRMAN ON SOVIET AID

LD012114 Warsaw PAP in English 2011 GMT 1 Jan 82

[Text] Warsaw, 1 Jan (PAP) — Almost every day brings more aid provided by the Soviet Union. Secretary-General of the Central Board of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society, Waclaw Barszczewski, told PAP, among other things, that the assistance granted Poland by the Soviet Union is not a new phenomenon. It simply is a fresh confirmation of Leonid Brezhnev's words who declared that the Soviet Union and the Soviet people will not leave Poland alone in her need. Soviet assistance has been pouring into Poland incessantly since August 1980. This assistance is already worth billions of roubles and dollars. The Soviet Union, guided by the most noble intentions to help a fraternal country, has not stopped for a single day to fulfil its obligations envisaged both in inter-state agreements and additional unilateral commitments.

Assistance to Poland is being provided both by Soviet state institutions and broad sections of the population of Leningrad, Kiev, Minsk and other regions in the Soviet Union. Next to material assistance, the Polish people also get valuable moral assistance from their Soviet friends in efforts to lead the country out of crisis.

ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI ATTACKS REAGAN 'INTERFERENCE'

AU041600 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 28 Dec 81 p 2

[Colonel W. Zielinski commentary: "A Brutal Interference in Our Affairs"]

[Text] President Reagan's latest speech to the American people can hardly be qualified other than as a brutal interference in the internal affairs of independent and sovereign Poland.

Not since World War II has the president or leader of any state allowed himself such a speech packed with bare threats and at the same time containing an unequivocal ultimatum.

It is not surprising that the speech delivered on Christmas Eve was addressed to the American people, because the U.S. President found it more convenient to speak about another nation, in addition quoting distorted and untrue facts, than about his own nation and the growing difficulties of his own stemming primarily from armaments swollen to a monstrous scope.

However, it is surprising that the President of the state in which, since the war for independence, traitors to its people have been held in deep contempt, used in particular false information supplied by the traitor to the Polish people, Romuald Spasowski, seeking to win the new master's favors by lies and calumny.

What was it that excited President Reagan so much that he committed a brutal interference, although quite recently he declared that "Poland should settle its problems without foreign interference." Does not the communique on the NATO session, a communique also signed by a high ranking representative of the United States, state unequivocally in paragraph 3 that the "Polish people should be free to settle their problems, to be safe from any intervention or foreign pressure?"

Well, what excited the U.S. President was the fact that the sovereign Polish Government resolved to check the further dismantling of state structures, to prevent a counter-revolutionary coup d'etat, and that it imposed martial law legally, in line with the fundamental law, the Constitution. It did that after many -- unfortunately, futile — attempts to reach an agreement with Solidarity leaders and to form a front of national accord with the participation of all patriotic forces of the nation, on the basis of recognizing the socialist principles of the Constitution of the Polish People's Republic.

President Reagan's speech, however, shows that either he does not know the facts or pretends not to know them, since he specifically stated that the "Polish people had been betrayed by their own government." At the same time the U.S. President stated that the government "broke the Gdansk agreement by which the Polish Government recognized its people's fundamental right to form free trade unions and to strike." Does not the President, otherwise well informed about other, including Polish, affairs, know that it was precisely Solidarity which broke agreements signed by itself? Does he not know about the pronouncements transcending any trade union limit such as that made by Lech Walesa in Radom in December 1981 to the effect that "confrontation is unavoidable and there will be a confrontation"; or that by Bogdan Lis in May 1981: "...The practice of squeezing us in the tight trade union framework does not and will not pass the test"; or that by Karol Modzalewski, also made in December 1981: "We must tell them clearly that that will be their last battle"? Last but not least, does President Reagan have any doubts about the meaning of those pronoucements and about the intentions of their authors? If he has, we must deplore the poor selection of his advisers and some secretaries of state. However, I am deeply convinced that reports by American press agencies and the American press do reach the White House and are generally accessible there. Thus, decisionmakers in the Washington administration were quite certainly familiar in particular with the following UPI report dated 7 December 1981: "On Monday, the Polish authorities published verbatim excerpts from speeches delivered at the strictly secret Solidarity session at which the union leadership discussed with Walesa the means of seizing power from the communists. In a telephone conversation, spokesman Brunne confirmed the authenticity of the first reports on the Radom session...." Similar reports and commentaries on that topic were published in all papers, including the most serious American dailies.

In his speech, the U.S. President blamed the Polish Government, while imposing martial law, of "trampling the solemn decisions of the UN Charter and of the Helsinki accords." The President's advisers, who suggested that thesis to him, seemed to be poorly informed also in this respect. Otherwise they would not refer to those international documents. For this reason they should be reminded of what subchapter 6 of chapter 1 entitled "A) The Declaration of Principles Governing Mutual Relations Among Participating States" says. Thus in subchapter 6, "Noninterference in Internal Affairs," we read specifically: "Participating states shall abstain from any interference, direct or indirect, individual or joint, in internal or foreign affairs belonging to the competence of another participating state, irrespective of their mutual relations... They also shall, under any circumstances, abstain from exerting military or political, economic or any other pressure aimed at subordinating to them a participating state and the rights stemming from its sovereignty, thus to obtain advantages of any kind." And are not President Reagan's decisions set forth in the said speech -- for example to suspend the shipment of any farm and dairy produce, to withhold the renewal of Export-Import Bank credits to the export line, to suspend the privileges enjoyed by Polish civil aviation in the United States, to suspend the right of Polish fishermen to fish in American waters, as well as to call on the allies to impose further restrictions in the sphere of exporting high technology to Poland -- an obvious interference and brutal political and economic pressure?

That obvious interference and brutal pressure clearly contradict the great charter of peace also signed by Gerald R. Ford, U.S. representative and at that time president, as well as the precepts of the UN Charter on which the former agreement was based.

In his speech, President Reagan tried at any price to give the Polish issue an international aspect, probably to justify his interference in our internal affairs.

To tell the truth, to some extent I was not surprised by the explosion of President Reagan's -- to put it mildly -- dissatisfaction with the developments in Poland. A large part of the administration expected those developments to take a completely different course. For this reason experts in our affairs badly informed the President on the day of the events, 13 December. That was the reason he said that he did not intend to interrupt his Sunday rest in Camp David. Another evidence of poor information was the significant bad break suffered by Washington's subversive propaganda mouthpiece, Radio Free Europe, on 13 December.

As followed from the discussion held at the microphone by various experts in Polish affairs, including Michalowski and Ptaczek, they were almost convinced that, in line with the forecast made by Solidarity leaders in Radom, a counterrevolutionary coup took place in Poland. For this reason they were wondering "whether ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI journalists also were among the interned extremist elements."

While going back to the repugnant role undoubtedly played, even to a minimum degree, by traitor Romuald Spasowski in shaping the U.S. position on Poland, it is worthwhile to quote his obvious lies set forth in the television speech and attesting to the low moral standards of that man. Here are some of them: "Death sentences have been imposed for failure to report for duty"; "Thousands of the best sons and daughters of the Polish people...have already been imprisoned or interned in open-air camps, without a roof overhead, in the cold"; "There are also indications that they are being deported to the neighboring countries," and so forth. Moreover, he asked the President to light on Christmas Eve a candle in the White House window, as a little but undoubted sign of solidarity with the Polish people.

A candle in the White House window should quite certainly burn on Christmas Eve and on every other day in tribute to the hundreds of thousands of victims of armed American intervention and bombardment in Korea, Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos, as well as in tribute to the American intervention troops fallen in those countries, in tribute to the tens of thousands of victims of various forms of American interference in Nicaragua and San Salvador, and in tribute to the thousands of people, including Palestinian women and children, who died from U.S.-made weapons delivered to the Israeli army, and so forth.

In addition, it is worth noting that not all U.S. allies in Europe share the President's view. In particular, Bonn Minister Genscher publicly warned the West against excessive reaction to the Polish crisis. Kurt Waldheim stated that the "United Nations was not in a position to directly intervene in the Polish crisis as long as it is Poland's internal affair," and European Common Market states resolved to continue preparations for further food assistance shipments to Poland.

President Reagan's Christmas Eve speech has revealed the true features of American imperialism. It has also revealed the true attitude of the Washington administration to the Polish people. It has shown that the lofty humanitarian principles, so frequently expounded by Washington, are mere tools of political blackmail and pressure. While widely playing upon the slogan of humanitarian assistance to the Poles, the chief of the U.S. administration has imposed restrictions aimed not so much at the Polish Government which, after all, may be disliked by the president of an imperialist state, as at the entire Polish nation.

TRYBUNA LUDU CRITICIZES HAIG, STOESSEL REMARKS

LD041204 Warsaw PAP in English 1108 GMT 4 Jan 82

[From the press review]

[Text] Warsaw, 4 Jan (PAP) -- "When important personalities want to get involved in Polish affairs with a polemical attitude one could at least expect that they show proof for their reasoning," wrote TRYBUNA LUDU commenting on the interviews granted recently by the U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig and his deputy Walter Stoessel.

"What is most disturbing in the interview granted by Stoessel is the tendency to exploit events in Poland to upset the East-West relations. Contrary to obvious facts and logic, it is being suggested that events in Poland may pose a threat to peace", said the daily.

"Should the threat to peace really materialize this would not be the effect of events in Poland but attempts to entwine these events in the global American calculations," TRYBUNA LUDU wrote. "If America, as it has declared, is really interested, as we are, in the return to reforms in Poland, peaceful order in Europe, and good East-West relations, then it should approach the situation in Poland less [word indistinct] but with greater circumspection," the daily concluded.

DZIENNIK LUDOWY SCORES 'SUBVERSIVE WORK' OF RFE

LD051038 Warsaw PAP in Russian 0900 GMT 5 Jan 82

["They Discredit and Instigate" -- PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, 5 Jan (PAP) -- It is under the above title that the paper DZIENNIK LUDOWY publishes an article by Jerzy (Rakowski), observer of the Polish worker's agency, about the subversive work of the "Radio Free Europe" editors. J (Rakowski) writes:

Deprived of sources of information due to the restrictions in communications, the "Free Europe" editors are padding out the reports being transmitted by Radio Warsaw with half-truths, gossip and cynical lies. These activities have one goal: to exaggerate the conflicts, to dramatize them and to whip them up.

The "Radio Free Europe" editors also drag moral problematics into their programs. On 22 December the whole commentary was devoted to the alleged moral damage that was being done to children simply through the introduction of martial law. This commentary depicts a strange situation in Poland, where children are asking their parents, who was being shot at in the street today?

Can any of us Poles who live in Poland believe such a lie? If we must talk about moral harm then let us talk about the harm done to children by the organizers of the Lublin strikes in schools, for example, who used children in their political games.

There is no shooting in our streets. There was only one case of arms being used and that was merely for self-defense. But "Radio Free Europe" does not mention this. The army came out of its barracks to make our streets safe, the author of the article amphasizes.

PAWLOWSKA URGES 'CRUSHING' OF OPPOSITION

LD040944 Warsaw PAP in English 0820 GMT 4 Jan 82

[From the press review]

[Text] Warsaw, 4 Jan (PAP) -- In an extensive article by Anna Pawlowska headlined "What Next?", TRYBUNA LUDU wrote, among other things:

"Among the PUWP members there are persons who consciously or unconsciously were prepared to offer ideological and political concessions to the opponent, to agree that the party became 'less of a party'. Today they are returning their party cards voluntarily or are being asked to do so. There are also other who, no matter what took place in the country in the past 18 months, with dogmatic conceit would refer to it as 'sell-out of socialism'. Today, they are hoping that the achieved transformations will be erased, the obligations undertaken torn up, and it is only now that they experience their 'hour of illusions'. I think that the basic answer to the question of what next with the party? Must be that: Take up, after a mere six month, another battle in defence of unity of the PUWP on the only historically possible platform of the 9th congress. [sentence as received] In the final analysis, the future of the country depends on whether the party succeeds in upholding the decisions of that congress.

"The Solidarity union, in the real form in which it functioned up to December 12, 1981, cannot have a place in the socialist state system. I specifically stress its real form, because a trade union whose character agrees with Solidarnosc statues can be assured of such place.

"The struggle for Solidarnosc has not ended. It is the anti-socialist political opposition that has been and remained the opponent in the struggle," TRYBUNA LUDU continues. We have been told for years that there are no opponents of socialism in Poland and only 'groups of madmen' from time to time were [word indistinct] to print something using children toy presses and that, ever since the [words indistinct] awners were laid to rest in their family tombs, reactionary forces have lost their base."

Antisocialist opposition in Poland is a fact. And this time it must be crushed politically, finally and ultimately.

"It is necessary to declare an open ideological and political struggle against Polish nationalism of all shade, nuances which always distorts and dwarfs patriotic sentiments. It is necessary to carry out a [word indistinct] and political struggle against [word indistinct] in all its forms since it does nothing to improve socialism but merely undermines its roots.

"The struggle is indispensable in order effectively to scuttle antisocialist opposition through depriving it of its potential base. It is equally indispensable as is the severity of law against all attempts being made by the opposition, a constant severity not to be subjected to any changing considerations.

"I see no easy answers to the burdning question of what next? But one thing that I am certain of is that in search of the answers facts must be taken into account. It is a fact that whatever happens on the Polish soil, the responsibility will lie with the party. Another fact is that the self-governed independence of the trade union movement was created by the mature will of the working class, and it is also a fact that socialism is being built in a true and not simulated struggle. There are also other facts ignoring of which will give nothing except for a successive cycle of mistakes."

PRESS ON PZPR ACTIVITY, U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS

LD050940 Warsaw PAP in English 0816 GMT 5 Jan 82

[Press review]

[Excerpt] Warsaw, 5 Jan (PAP) -- In a front page commentary in TRYBUNA LUDU Anna Pawlowska wrote that "the turn that occurred in the political situation in the country on December 13 last year and the introduction of martial law gave birth to a new demand for party activeness."

"Already on the first day it became evident how many people who are capable of being active when necessary the party had," TRYBUNA LUDU continued. Declaring their readiness to take up any necessary actions, giving up their private time to the party, PUWP members, labour veterans, pensioners and young people reported to the PUWP committees of all levels, the daily said next.

"In those recent months, a lot was being said about the necessity for party members to self-define themselves, about the platform of consolidation of party ranks, about the need for univocal attitudes. The present weeks meet those postulates, attitudes are verified through concrete activity," TRYBUNA LUDU wrote.

"It is those people who voluntarily presented themselves to be at the party's disposal [who] are capable to continue the work of consolidating it and purifying it, of building up its unity on the ground of ideological and organizational principles," TRYBUNA LUDU conluded.

In an article headlined "Time for Rehabilitation" the army daily ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI wrote: "It is possible to understand the people who, in the face of the economic crisis, emigrated abroad. But it is difficult to justify those who remained in the homeland not to share the misery of their fellow countrymen but to make this misery more acute through permanent strikes, protest actions, unrestrained propaganda, unscrupulous and deprived of any morality, which deepened the economic chaos and led straight towards a disintegration of the nation."

"It is difficult to forgive those who did not want to start a dialogue with the authorities, even in the face of defeat and consciously exposed human life to danger," the daily wrote.

Fortunately enough, the plans of a blood-bath prepared for communists in Poland were thwarted. In spite of all its rancour towards the authorities, and actually not towards the latest but the previous governing teams, the society acknowledged their lawfulness confirming that once more by its high-degree subordination to the authorities decisions concerning the limitations introduced by martial law and by increased social discipline during the entire period of martial law and is now slowly beginning to see who acted in its interest and who acted against it," ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI said. [sentence as received]

In an article by its Moscow correspondent Eugeniusz Gajda, headlined "The Key to Detente" and devoted to an analysis of Soviet-U.S. relations TRYBUNA LUDU wrote that "the relations between the Soviet Union and the U.S.A. constitute the main axis of world policy."

"The development of dailogue and co-operation or the increase of tension between those superpowers in a decisive way determine the political climate in the modern world," the daily added.

"The Soviet Union and other socialist countries have made several efforts to accelerate the negotiations, to achieve progress in the sphere of military detente, to ensure the irrevocability of the detente process. However, already in the peak period of detente, first alarming signals could be observed. The military industrial complex and the extreme reactionary forces in the capitalist countries began making preparations for an offensive against detente," the PUWP daily said next.

"The Soviet Union proposed and continues to propose the only realistic road compatible with the interests of international security: to preserve the equilibrium by stopping the armament race, reduction of stockpiles and cooperation in elimination of dangerous hotbeds of tension," TRYBUNA LUDU said. "This was the aim of the momentous proposals contained in Leonid Brezhnev's speech delivered last year in Bonn," the daily said in conclusion.

LEADING SOLIDARITY OFFICIAL GEREMEK CRITICIZED

LD041758 Warsaw PAP in Russian 1500 GMT 4 Jan 82

[Text] Warsaw, 4 Jan (PAP) -- ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI describes in a long article the activities of Dr Bronislaw Geremek, a leading Solidarity adviser.

Kuron, himself an "expert and adviser," was the leading spirit of the KSS/KOR [Social Self-Defense Committee] advisers, and also in practice their chief. For certain reasons he could not be the leader of the advisory group and so the post was given to his close colleague and friend, Bronislaw Gieremek, head of the Polish Academy of Sciences' division on history and culture of the middle ages.

During his studies in France under the influence of various friendships, Geremek developed an interest in politics totally different from those he had subscribed to previously in Poland, passing himself off as a communist and even functioning as party secretary of the Polish Academy of Sciences History Institute. Never in his life did he have anything in common with the workers.

Immediately after his return from France, he established close contact with renegades like Kuron and Modzelewski who were promoting dissident views about the party and Polish state. His party card became unnecessary baggage for his further career, as, incidentally, it did for many later Solidarity leaders. To be frank, the party lost nothing following Geremek's departure; instead it gained.

In 1977 Dr Geremek left on another foreign tour, this time to the United States. Two years later, he returned with fresh knowledge, not at all scientific knowledge, let us say right away, and began working at full steam in the KSS/KOR organization. Geremek immediately engaged in antisocialist and anti-Polish activities, even offering his own apartment for certain purposes. Henceforth, nothing to do with KSS/KOR would be alien to him.

In August 1980, Dr Geremek quickly join the advisers making up Solidarity's central leadership. He worked flat out for the triumph of the political Mafia which subsequently consolidated its position in the trade union in order to eventually take it over.

Geremek acted as chairman for a group of experts at the Solidarity congress. At the same time, he was elected chairman of the trade union's manifesto commission. This was even more strange because the manifesto commission of an alleged workers' organization did not have room for a single real worker on it.

Even before the congress, speaking on television along with Walesa and other figures, Geremek stated that he thought the main aim of the congress was for "the congress to show that the trade union has a program for the country and that its outcome will be the emergence of a program for salvation for the country."

The draft document put forward showed how Geremek and his fellows imagined the "salvation of Poland." One can say with complete objectivity that it was a conglomeration of silly theories, often simply utopian and for the greater part truly adventuristic.

The program did not contain any hint of the trade union representing the interests of the workers. Instead, the work by Geremek and other disciples of Kuron contains a plan for political struggle leading to the annihilation of the existing Polish state and the elimination of any influence by the party and other political forces supporting socialism in order to bring the trade union's extremist forces to power and to accomplish changes aimed at reviving capitalism in Poland.

ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI SCORES DEFECTING AMBASSADORS

LD041516 Warsaw PAP in English 1400 GMT 4 Jan 82

["New Lackeys at the White House" — PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, 4 Jan (PAP) -- The Polish Army daily ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI labeled Romuald Spasowski and Sdzislaw and Tokyo, White House's new lackeys who have betrayed Poland.

Quoting President Reagan as saying that Romuald Spasowski behaved according to the loftiest of the principle and that he believed that the Polish nation was surely proud of that man, the daily wrote, "as it is, President Reagan deems himself to be even competent to assess the feelings of the Polish nation. This assessment is equally false as the intelligence reports sent from Warsaw to the White House on the events, to say the least, of December 13'.

Citing Spasowski as thanking "many a friend in the Reagan administration for giving permission to stay in Washington" the daily remarks "it is well known that such permissions are not given by the secretary of treasury but by the specialized agencies, among other things by such which are directed by Director Casey of the CIA."

The daily goes on, "Some lies spread by Spaswoski clearly indicate that he got everything wrong. No wonder, not so long ago, he was splitting on the United States, holding the White House responsible for concentration camps in sports stadiums in Chile, for brutal interventions in the affairs of sovereign states or when he compared the U.S. crimes in Vietnam to the Nazi crimes. So cannot such a man as Spaswoski mix everything up" the daily asks.

President Reagan loves to lean on traitors, ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI goes on. We can expect that shortly the world will receive another photograph of the U.S. President, this time in the company of another traitor of the Polish nation, namely the former Polish ambassador in Tokyo, Zdizisaw Rurarz. In line with the cast devised by Director (?Casey) Rurarz received another task in this farce - a part of a tough guy, the paper says.

Further on the daily says that Rurarz called on the U.S. President to forbid all aid for Poland and to impose political and economic sanctions on the Soviet Union.

Winding up, ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI wrote: "Appropriately programmed by Director Casey's experts, Rurarz assured his 'brothers and sisters in Poland' of his boundless love, while actually calling for sanctions spearheaded against them.

"We can also expect what we will shortly publish a photograph of the U.S. President with the two traitors: Spasowski and Rurarz, taking his arms. As supporting the master is the primary duty of every lackey. And this is the actual function of the two."

SOLIDARITY SPOKESMAN ON CRISIS TACTICS

PM050829 Paris LE MATIN in French 23 Dec 81 p 13

[Jean-Charles Rosier "exclusive" interview, presumably in France, with former Solidarity Lodz Regional Presidium member Zbigniew Kowalewski: "The CGT's [General Labor Confederation] Position Is Shameful" -- date and place not given; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Today we are publishing an exclusive interview with Zbigniew Kowalewski, a member of the Solidarity leadership Presidium in the Lodz region where there are some 500,000 solidarity members. Zbigniew Kowalewski, who is a sociologist by profession and is 38 years old, analyzes the situation inside Poland and the attitude taken by the CGT and the PCF [French Communist party]. As the main leader of the Solidarity coordination committee in France, he appeals for solidarity from all French trade union and political forces.

LE MATIN: What form of action do you envisage in France and elesewhere to support the Polish people's struggle?

Zbigniew Kowalewski: That will depend on what practical action the resistance movement in the country takes. We have launched the publication of a pamphlet which we hope will appear regularly. We hope that the French trade union organizations will take action to show solidarity, that the workers' parties will initiate debate in parliament on Poland and that they will influence the government's policy in its own and its allies' political stances toward the military dictatorship in Poland. We also intend to collaborate with the French trade union organizations in collecting material aid -- money -- and with other institutions in obtaining food and medical aid.

LE MATIN: You demand solidarity from the trade union organizations, but the main one, the CGT, is refraining from taking part in action which might help the Polish people. What do you think of that attitude?

Zbigniew Kowalewski: As far as the CGT is concerned, we are acquainted with its leadership's viewpoint. But we also know that a growing number of whole sections have very different stances from their leadership. The CGT leadership's stance surprises me, because before the coup d'etat it stated that it had good relations with the Solidarity trade union's struggle and the military dictatorship, whose existence is justified by the CGT leadership. I hope that under pressure from the grass roots the leaders will change their attitude and realize that every trade union organization must struggle with the same determination against military dictatorships in Chile or Poland.

LE MATIN: The PCF's stance since the establishment of martial law is very similar to that of the CGT. The PCF is lagging far behind the rest of the French workers' movement.... The PCF claims that it is refraining from throwing fat in the fire but describes some Polish workers, like the 1,300 miners in Silesia, as "adventurers and irresponsible people." This is surprising!

Zbigniew Kowalewski: The PCF leadership's position is perfectly in keeping with one of the objectives of the military dictatorship in Poland and of the Soviet bloc governments which want to isolate the Polish workers' resistance from the workers' movement in the West. The aim is to destroy the workers' international unity. The military government's propaganda has only one aim -- to convince the Polish people that they are isolated by asserting that nobody supports them. I hope that the PCF will change its opinion and that it realizes as quickly as possible that the Solidarity trade union represents the hope of Poland's self-managing workers. I personally am prepared to meet with the PCF leadership for discussions.

LE MATIN: Are you asking the party to criticize itself?

Zbigniew Kowalewski: One day the PCF will have to criticize itself. The sooner it does, so the better....

LE MATIN: A number of French intellectuals recently launched an appeal in which they all called on the French Government to adopt a tougher stance against the military dictatorship in Poland. How do you react to that appeal?

Zbigniew Kowalewski: As a member of the Solidarity trade union I do not want to comment on the government's policy.... What I would like to say is that it is very important for the Polish people today that unity is achieved among all the trade union and political forces of the French workers' movement at all levels, in enterprises, party sections and so forth.

LE MATIN: Did you think that General Jaruzelski's military coup d'etat would happen so quickly?

Zbigniew Kowalewski: Almost 1 year ago the PZPR and CPSU leaders decided together to crush the workers' movement in Poland and the Solidarity trade union. Their objective was to restore the party's monopoly of power and curb the democratization process. One year ago direct Soviet military pressure stopped in our country. At that time the Soviet military units amassed in large numbers on our borders were withdrawn. At the same time preparations began for the establishment of a military dictatorship, for instance, by drawing up a plan to militarize factories and public life. Officers took positions in the government. Another sign was the fact that in October 1981 the army was sent in to supervise 2,000 municipalities. Very recently, at the end of November and beginning of December, military supervision over factories began. Those were practical exercises to prepare for the military takeover. The reason why the coup d'etat has come now is that the whole country was in a situation of revolutionary crisis. Despite an economic crisis which was extremely painful for the population, one hope remained. An economic reform was to be introduced.

LE MATIN: You spoke of hope and economic reform; can you explain what you mean in more detail on these two points?

Zbigniew Kowalewski: For our people, that reform was to free society from the economic monopoly held by the state and party apparatus. The basis of that reform was worker self-management. A large section of the working class and the Solidarity trade union decided to implement economic reform by themselves, on the basis of their own plan and using their own methods, particularly the "active strike." The Polish workers intended to establish their control over production and distribution but also to protect that production by installing workers' guards.

In Lodz, my region, an "active strike" leading to economic reform was to start at the end of December, as it was in Ursus and other enterprises in different regions. It was in that dual power situation that the coup d'etat took place.

LE MATIN: But why did Solidarity not take more security measures, why did it not plan to go underground if there was a coup d'etat? And yet it seems that you expected such a situation.

Zbigniew Kowalewski: Our trade union rules stated that in case of attack against our organization a general strike should immediately be launched. Solidarity was prepared for such an eventuality.

But we did not expect military dictatorship to come by such a rapidly launched coup d'etat. We knew that the government was planning a military dictatorship. But we thought that it wanted to give it a parliamentary front.

At the PZPR Central Committee's request the government was to present Parliament with a bill on special powers. For 2 months the party put out propaganda on the front for national accord, which gave Solidarity illusions. Some people thought that there was a chance of an agreement being reached between the government and society. Safety measures were taken, but they were not adequate.

LE MATIN: Given present circumstances in Poland, how do you think the situation is likely to develop? Do you think that the Polish people's resistance movement will be extended and strengthened?

Zbigniew Kowalewski: The resistance movement has not been broken 1 week after the coup d'etat. The "active strike" method is still applicable. It must be adapted to practical conditions.... I think that, through experience, Solidarity is busy drawing up new struggle tactics. Given the attacks by the army and the police on the factories, there can be no permanent strike. The workers have been instructed to avoid bloodshed. When the police intervene the workers leave the factory, but the next day the government wants them to return to work. The workers go back into the factory, meet and go on strike again. In many enterprises these are the tactics being used, although they are difficult to implement because we are in a very cold period. The government is systematically turning off the heating in the factories. In addition, Solidarity delegates are arrested each time. But the workers elect new delegates. We have different tactics. They consist in threatening to blow up various installations. For instance, in a synthetic fiber factory in Gorzow, in the Poznan region, the striking workers are now threatening to blow up enormous vats whose explosion would destroy the whole factory.

SOLIDARITY EXILE INTERVIEWED ON PROSPECTS

PM291257 Paris LE MATIN in French 14 Dec 81 p 11

[Jean-Charles Rosier interview in France with "cofounder of Solidarity medical section 'Marek'"; "Only a General Strike..."]

[Text] A young Polish doctor, Marek, who teaches at Gdansk University, arrived in France back in September 1981 for a professional course. He was cofounder of Solidarity's medical section in Poland in September 1980. On Sunday morning, he learned from French radio of the martial law in his country. He gave us his impressions of the situation in his country.

[Question] In the present situation, what will the army's attitude be, in your opinion? Will it follow the Polish Government?

[Answer] In Poland almost two-thirds of the army today are draftees, young people who have known Solidarity and militated in the organization. Passive resistance may be expected from them. On the other hand there is a risk of another breach in the army between the drafted officers and the political officers, who have undergone intensive ideological training by the party. Repressive action is all that can be expected from them. A certain zeal can also be feared from the ZOMO, the crack detachments of the motorized police. But there are also many men in the police force who sympathize with Solidarity. Recently, about 40,000 of them requested National Commission backing to form their own trade union.

[Question] Lech Walesa seems to have chosen dialogue with the Polish authorities from the outset. Do you think this a wise choice?

[Answer] I think it is very dangerous. In the present situation the government is trying to put pressure on him to calm public opinion.

I think Walesa should have demanded that Jaruzelski, who now has full power, release all the members of Solidarity's National Commission before beginning any negotiations. Otherwise he has no chance of succeeding in the negotiations.

[Question] People have been talking about intervention by the Soviet Union for a very long time now. Is the martial law proclaimed by the government not simply disguised intervention by the Russians?

[Answer] For the moment the Russians are caught. Shortages are making themselves felt in almost all the East European countries. They need Western technology. Moreover, the situation in Afghanistan is increasingly unfavorable for them. They are compelled to avoid a tough confrontation at any price. They need peace. In my opinion, everything depends on the Polish workers, especially on those in heavy industry. A general strike throughout the country must be brought about without fail in order to demand the release of all the Solidarity members and also to protect other Solidarity militants in the plants who are threatened. Jaruzelski's government has lost all credibiity with the Polish people, all the more so since Jaruzelski himself was a member of the PZPR Politburo almost throughout the decade under Gierek, who is responsible for the crisis which Poland is now undergoing. The Soviets will not intervene, I am almost certain. In the short term they have more need of a stable country than of a communist country.

[Question] But is there not a risk that a general strike will make the situation even more difficult?

[Answer] If the Polish workers proclaim a general strike, the government will be forced to give in, and they will even have the Russians' agreement. I would go even further; the party and the Russians will have to accept the principle of free and democratic elections and other essential political freedoms. The Poles are already familiar with the general strike scenario. Our trade union cells are ready, we prepared for a general strike back last March, for the Bydgoszcz events. But there is still a question mark: the Poles have for several months been experiencing a situation of tension, shortages and great fatigue, and now they face physical terror too. Will they have the courage and energy to overcome this final obstacle to achieve democracy at last?

SOLIDARITY FLIER DETAILS 17 DEC GDANSK INCIDENT

NC041725 Paris AFP in English 1716 GMT 4 Jan 82

[Text] Paris, 4 Jan (AFP) -- A leaflet from Poland's Solidarity [word indistinct] for the first time identifies one of the casualties of the Polish state of siege as 23-year-old Antoni Growarczyk.

Solidarity's INFORMATION BULLETIN NUMBER 9 received here today recounts how the young man was killed last December 17 in the Lenin shipyards of Gdansk on the Baltic.

That day, Solidarity said, motorized (?police) had cordoned off the area around the shipyard's monument to the dead of the 1970 workers' riots, to prevent a crowd from assembling there for a demonstration.

The crowd, Solidarity went on, protested with shouts of "Gestapo," in reference to Nazi Germany's dreaded political police remembered from the German occupation of Poland, and sang the national anthem. The police then (?made) use of pistols, tear gas and [words indistinct] Solidarity said, which people kept throwing back at them.

In the afternoon, the account went on, people were arrested, scuffles became more fierce, police using their arms and the population hurling back stones. Young Growazyk, the text concluded, was killed in the fighting when only a few steps away from the monument.

The same news bulletin also reported that many Polish newsmen and actors had turned in their communist party cards, including most of the staff of the weekly KULTUR and actors Jan Swiderski, Tadeusz Lomnicki, Marius Dmochowski and Bogdan Majda. Another who left the party, Solidarity added, was the deputy head of the Central Committee's culture section, Michal Jagiello.

SETINC REVIEWS SITUATION, VISIT TO POLAND

AU031715 Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian No 1616 20 Dec 81 pp 15, 17

[Aleksandar Novacic interview with Franc Setinc, secretary of the Central Committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Slovenia -- place and date not given]

[Excerpts] In a recent live 90-minute program of Ljubljana radio, Franc Setinc, secretary of the Central Committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Slovenia, answered a number of questions from listeners mainly in connection with the events in Poland.

[Question] What were the most frequent questions asked by listeners?

[Answer] A majority of listeners asked questions about the causes of the Polish crisis. Prior to that program, I had also had many meetings with the people in the field. I gained an impression from all this that many people are insufficiently informed not only about the deeper causes of the situation in Poland but also about the deeper causes of the situation in the socialist movement in general. I am convinced that these issues must be more thoroughly examined and that the analysis of and answers to dilemmas of the contemporary world must be presented to the people.

[Question] Do you mean especially the dilemmas of contemporary socialism?

[Answer] Yes. Poland's essential issue today is the issue of internal development of socialism, an issue of successful or unsuccessful solutions to contradictions within socialism. I think that this is precisely what is involved now.

[Question] I presume that listeners also asked a number of specific questions.

[Answer] They asked: What is actually taking place in Poland? Is that a counter-revolution and is a conflict between counterrevolution and socialism taking place? In my answer, I said that that is an artificial dilemma even though it is strongly emphasized in Poland, just as is the claim that what is actually involved is a threat to socialism.

[Question] You have visited Poland on several occasions.

[Answer] I have been there several times in the past and recently. I must say that really few people there speak about socialism. I have come to the conclusion -- and I stand by it -- that no one has the right to interfere in Poland's internal affairs because that is a matter for the Poles themselves. But I understood that the Poles do not use the word socialism because, bearing in mind what has happened in the past, this word has been profaned in their country, and I understood that in a certain sense they are afraid of it because it reminds them of the past. But analyzing all the present demands of the Polish workers class, we see that the Poles are striving precisely for socialism, for true socialism and, in my opinion, that is the main characteristic of the position of the workers class today.

[Question] Do you share the view that, even despite excesses, the struggle for a socialist system is now a dominating concept in Poland?

[Answer] That is correct. The Polish workers class has risen in strong revolt on three different occasions: in 1956, 1970 and now. Let me dwell on the first two instances. Both times the Polish workers class accepted the program of its party as a solution for the crisis. On the other hand the party was self-critical toward its own past and promised essential changes in the society. But it failed to keep its promises. Bureaucratic deformations and distortions of socialism and socialist norms followed once again. The origins of the present events must be sought in this fact. In the third case the workers class itself took the initiative in its own hands.

[Question] In fact it became evident that it is impossible to rule on behalf of the workers class.

[Answer] I discussed that with comrades in the PZPR. I asked them whether it is possible that only individuals should be blamed for all that has happened in Poland, or if the causes should be sought in the system itself.

Answering me, they said that there have been certain dogmatic solutions and, naturally, deformities but that they are preparing a complete reform. However, according to their interpretations, Solidarity refuses to accept that but instead seeks power. They concluded that the party should think about stronger measures also to put an end to that.

[Question] I think that what is essential in this connection is the fact that there are 10 million or more workers in Solidarity, that Solidarity represents an objective social force and that it seeks a solution in socialist renewal.

[Answer] The workers class really is dominant in Solidarity. It has expressed its authentic aspirations. It is in this fact that the class aspect of the entire issue is evident, and that cannot be bypassed. The party must open certain communications for these aspirations if it wants to be progressive and represent a vanguard. It is really difficult to accept the claim that this position of workers is counterrevolutionary.

By saying this, I do not wish to belittle the fact that in Solidarity there are also some forces which strive for counterrevolution. But there is a similar situation in the party in which dogmatic forces are still present, regardless of the fact that it is claimed in Poland that these forces represent no particular threat to Poland.

[Question] Did you have any contacts with representatives of Solidarity when you were in Poland?

[Answer] I was there as a guest of the PZPR but I had contacts with representatives of Solidarity also. That happened in a factory in Lodz. That was a meeting with all the forces in the factory, including Solidarity, the management, the other trade union organization, the party and so forth. I gained many impressions. As regards Solidarity representatives in that factory, I think that they are worthy young men who think about the real problems of their collective.

[Question] Solidarity is not only criticized in Poland but also by Poland's allies. They speak about a counterrevolutionary character of that organization.

[Answer] I think that that organization is not immune to the danger of losing contact with the authentic interests of the workers class. After all, it is obvious that various forces exist within that movement. Some of them are pulling in the direction of social democracy, some a kind of Christian socialism and even in the direction of counterrevolution.

[Question] Do these forces exercise a decisive influence?

[Answer] In my opinion, they exist but they are not dominant.

[Question] The latest stage of the Polish drama or renewal has been in progress since August 1980. The fact is that from that time until the introduction of the military administration, not a single drop of Polish blood was shed. This respect for pluralism and agreements is a new phenomenon that is important not only for Poland but also for the world process of socialism. Do you believe that the latest events in Warsaw have slowed down or pushed aside these positive processes?

[Answer] I cannot answer this question. I leave it to time. Perhaps this was not a fortunate circumstance for Poland and the entire world. You are acquainted with the recently stated view of our country based on the belief that all these events are Poland's internal affairs which -- as we believe -- the Polish people, their workers class, the PZPR and other political forces will solve sovereignly, democratically and in the spirit of reform. We see the prospects for the future in that.

[Question] Let us return to the Ljubljana radio listeners' reaction to Polish events.

[Answer] I think that a majority of our people understand what is in fact involved. Some of the listeners asked, among other things, what lessons we could draw from what has happening in Poland.

[Question] What was your answer?

[Answer] I said that Poland is searching for its own model. It is certain that that cannot be our model of self-management. The reasons for that can be found in the historical and geopolitical circumstances. I think that the press has made some simplified comparisons. For instance, someone has said that the rate of inflation in Poland is 20 percent. If this information is stated so lightly and without any explanation, then the question is justified: Why is it precisely the Poles who are rebelling when, at the same time, the rate of our inflation is 50 percent? I would like to see how the inflation rate is calculated in Poland because I know that the official exchange rate between the dollar and the zloty is one to 36 and the unofficial exchange rate is even one to 500.

[Question] Were any questions asked about the behavior of Poland's allies?

[Answer] Yes. Some individuals were amazed at Brezhnev's patience. I said that Brezhnev is certainly sufficiently wise, especially in comparison with those who criticize him because of his patience.

[Question] Were you surprised by the step taken in Poland in the night between Saturday and Sunday?

[Answer] Yes. The step taken in this form surprised me although, with hindsight and recalling all that I have heard, this step should not have come as a surprise. After all, I was told in Warsaw that the party cannot tolerate much longer the escalation of "counterrevolutionary forces" within Solidarity, as they put it, and that it would take even the harshest measures.

COMMENTARY NOTES UNCERTAINTY OF POLAND'S FUTURE

AU291716 Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian No 1617 27 Dec 81 p 8

[Unattributed commentary: "Polish December"]

[Text] Icy December winds are blowing in Poland. An unpleasant cold is also spreading outside its vast plains.

Despite the repeated promises and good intentions, the Poles' blood has again been shed. After Poznan 1956, Gdansk 1970, Ursus and Radom 1976, Katowice 1981 has joined the long list of towns in which the Polish workers died in a conflict with the superior, military and political force of the Polish state.

A sad history is being repeated and, regrettably, no road is seen along which Poland could leave the vicious circle of rises and conflicts between the authorities and workers.

The current military authorities do not deny that the main resistance to the action they took on 13 December comes precisely from the ranks of the workers class. For this reason the vital question for understanding the Polish drama remains: Can workers be counter-revolutionaries? Can they wage a struggle against their vital class interest? For this reason the question of the socialist model, which had to be defended against workers on so many occasions and with such force and coercion, is again emerging with all its gravity.

In our opinion, only one answer is possible to this question. If the aim of the Polish Army's action has been to retain at any price and in an unchanged form precisely this model then, viewed on a long-term basis, the chances for this action to succeed are negligible. To think differently would mean to oppose the basic messages and lessons of history, as well as the Marxist view of the world.

The future looks different if one accepts with full confidence the statements of the military authorities that the action was taken to defend the economic and social reforms that began last year and this year and that the rights that the workers had already were taken away so that they could be returned one day.

However, in this connection the question also remains as to whether this would be possible under the conditions of nonconfidence that inevitably emerge from victims and blood.

As has been established on many occasions, socialism is not an ideal society without any conflicts. Sharp conflicts and strong social contradictions are shaking socialism, too. However, what ought to be the real advantage of socialism is that these conflicts are not resolved by force but rather through a dialogue and accord, for if the Polish experience teaches us something then it is that there can be no socialism without democracy.

Already now, some 10 days after the introduction of martial law, one can see that, at least in some respects, the treatment has been more difficult than the illness, if naturally, what was involved was an illness at all. For, along with all shocks and challenges, along with all potential threats, what was called the Polish socialist renewal and what had the outside appearance many times of anarchy had in 1 and 1/2 years awakened in Poland many workers' hopes and had not taken a single human life. What has been undertaken with the proclaimed aim of restraining anarchy and introducing order has within the first few days added to the sad list of the Polish workers' suffering, according to official reports, seven people killed.

These victims, then the long and stubborn strikes in Polish mines and factories, the fact that the Polish economy has not left the state of lethargy it is in, that an ordinary Pole has increasing difficulties in obtaining food, all this casts a dark shadow of uncertainty over Poland's immediate future. Today no one can with certainty foresee the future development of events. However, the recent Polish dramas are already being strongly felt, not only in that suffering country but also far outside its borders. When we speak about the fact that Polish affairs should be left to the Poles themselves, we do not think only about direct interference, but also that kind of foreign propaganda from neighboring countries which has always been expressed, and particularly now, as a form of objective pressure that the Poles should also take those steps which, were the Poles able to really judge for themselves and according to their conscience and judgement, would probably be avoided. It is certainly no time for manipulations with fabricated reports and alarming news, like that about an alleged diversion in a mine in Silesia, nor is it time for any kind of pressure which can only increase the indignation in Poland. The situation is too serious and if the Poles are not helped in a proper way to find a way out of their difficult crisis, the dangers stemming from the crisis in Poland, the country in the heart of Europe, will be unforeseeable.

It is to be hoped that the extent of tragedy will at least not be increased, that Poland's destiny will be left to the Poles and that the military authorities will be ready and able to return the country to normal conditions so that, through a dialogue with the workers class and through a political, economic and social reform, the road of socialist renewal will be continued along which, accepting all challenges, Poland embarked on in August 1980.

SPECULATION ON 'UNCERTAIN FATE OF SOLIDARITY'

AU311812 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 30 Dec 81 pp 1, 10

[Lazar Martinovic report: "Uncertain Fate of Solidarity"]

[Excerpts] Warsaw, 29 Dec -- The three main newspapers which are published stress today in their reviews of the situation in the several regions that production is starting to move and that order is returning to Polish streets.

Conspicuous place is also given to all those who have something to say about the opposition and destructive activities of Solidarity.

Those who do not deny the necessity of introducing martial law or those who consider it a necessary evil include many who do not wish Solidarity to be completely dissolved: However, emphasis is given to the insistence that it should be purely a workers' union. Many people are now asking what will happen to Solidarity. Both Jaruzelski and the military council maintain that the activities of this trade union have been only temporarily suspended. Few believe it, however.

The fear that this workers' union -- which in addition to the most extreme political ambitions of some of its leaders also initiated many positive processes -- may not survive has been confirmed by Jan Labecki, member of the Politburo, at a meeting of the party aktiv at the Lenin shipyard. He said literally that it would not be possible for Solidarity to resume working according to its existing statute. He stated that a workers' union, independent and self-managing, will be formed from Solidarity members.

Reasons

The same meeting talked a great deal about the current situation. As the local newspaper, GLOS WYBRZEZA, reports, Labecki also said that martial law has not been introduced to protect the party but to protect the country and the people from grave consequences. However, in reporting the discussion at this meeting, the newspaper particularly stresses the view that martial law should be made use of to strengthen the position of the party and that the PZPR is duty bound to adopt the elements of resolution and concrete activities now carried out by the army.

It was also said that prominent communists are leaving the party, but no detailed figures were given. It was also noted that there will be no going back on August 1980, "although certain activities along this line must be temporarily suspended."

TRYBUNA LUDU also confirmed that some economic reforms are also being questioned at least for a time.

Such assertions diminish the hopes that the process of socialist reconstruction will be continued in the forms desired by the Poles. They confirm at the same time the belief of many that some of society's expectations will be frustrated. According to the public mood, this is felt to be the gravest blow and consequence from the introduction of martial law. Society will excuse the authorities of anything else but this.

'DIFFICULTIES' CONTINUE TO EXIST IN POLAND

LD291904 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1750 GMT 29 Dec 81

["Poland Difficulties Still Exist" -- TANJUG heading by TANJUG correspondent Zoran Zlatanovic]

[Text] Warsaw, 29 Dec (TANJUG) -- Polish official assessments state that at the beginning of last week "the rhythmic course of production" is slowly returning and that "the increased effort by work collectives and their satisfactory discipline make the alleviation of various difficulties" possible. There are also "many optimistic reports too" on the fulfillment of yearly plans. Everything is, however, placed within the context of the severe crisis which the country is experiencing, and thus the optimism which transpires from these official assessments should be understood as entirely conditional.

This is precisely why the words in this assessment that, following the 3-day holidays, this Monday "the collectives of enterprises have begun normal work" deserves attention. It is said that all coal mines in Silesia are working normally since yesterday. The exception is the Piast mine in which production begins today, since the miners who spent 2 weeks there in "protest action which is, as officially assessed, contrary to logic" left the pits last night.

It is reported that the Baltic shipyards began work on 28 December, with the exception of the Lenin shipyard whose workers are on vacation until 4 January. In other shipyards this vacation lasted a little over a week and ended yesterday. The vacation for workers in the Baltic was, in fact, an enforced one following the events which took place in Gdansk on 16 December, the 4th day of martial law.

In the clashes between security forces, workers and citizens at that time, over 320 on both sides were injured. In order for the situation in the town to normalize, the authorities decided to send whole collectives on vacation. Work has now been restarted while in the Lenin shipyard it will begin after the new year. The regular ferry service to Helsinki was reintroduced and the ports in Gdansk are working too.

It is further reported that all enterprises are working in Krakow, including the steelworks there. Similar reports also came from Poznan, Nowy Targ, Piotrkow and other voivodships.

Difficulties regarding cooperation deliveries, lack of certain raw materials and other production materials are stressed everywhere. It is precisely this that observers connect with facilities introduced by the minister of communications -- approving that enterprises can now, under the condition of suspended telephone and telex traffic, communicate with one another from post offices by telegram. This facility will undoubtedly contribute to enterprises -- at least while the decree on suspended communications is in force -- communicating in this way on mutual deliveries of raw materials, production material, and parts on the basis of cooperation and other business issues.

MOSCOW'S 'OBSESSION' WITH POLAND NOTED

AU301903 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 28 Dec 81 p 2

[Permanent Correspondent R. Bajalski report]

[Excerpts] Moscow, 27 Dec -- The belief that certain circles in Washington ardently wished that the Soviet Union would get involved in Poland's internal affairs with military force has assumed the effect of an obsession here in the past months. This proposition has not been published in the newspapers. Of course, nothing of the kind can be found in the statements by any Soviet politicians. Foreign diplomats and journalists, however, have been able to hear this assessment in off-the-record talks, but have been unable to find proper confirmation that this belief had "official" weight.

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Now that Poland has carried out an internal military intervention with its own forces, Moscow for the first time has openly said what had been talked about in subdued voices. Basically, it has now been said that the American scenario for the development of the events in Poland did not cause -- or provoke -- Soviet interference.

'BLOC CONFRONTATION' OVER POLAND ENTERS NEW PHASE

LD302008 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 30 Dec 81

[Text] U.S. economic sanctions against the Soviet Union on account of the state of emergency in Poland have caused a sharp reaction in Moscow. The Soviet Union will not allow anyone to speak to it in the language of blackmail and diktat, TASS stresses in a comment on the U.S. measures. In a report from Washington, which is the first Soviet reaction to the sanctions, TASS says that Washington has in this manner taken provocative action aimed at still further poisoning the international climate and undermining the foundations of Soviet-U.S. relations. Charging Washington with giving encouragement to counterrevolutionary activists in Poland, the agency resolutely rejects U.S. accusations about the alleged Soviet interference in the Polish events and the Soviet Union's direct responsibility for the introduction of the state of emergency in Poland.

According to the view of TANJUG's Moscow correspondent, as a result of this the bloc confrontation due to the situation in Poland has entered a new phase of exacerbation. U.S. President Reagan's economic sanctions against the Soviet Union are also the theme of our foreign political commentary. Zrnka Novak says:

[Begin recording] The already announced economic sanctions against the People's Republic of Poland, introduced shortly after the declaration of the state of emergency, were supplemented by President Reagan last night with sanctions against -- according to U.S. assertions -- the main initiator of the Polish events, the Soviet Union.

It is not by accident that on the list of these sanctions the top place is occupied by a ban on the importing [as heard] of technology intended for the Siberian-European gas pipeline. Regardless of how long the total package of sanctions will last, this measure can be effectively used at this moment both against the opposing bloc and against undisciplined European Atlantic allies, above all as a punishment for West German realism and for the caution with which Bonn has appraised the Polish events.

Though at this moment West Europe's reply to the U.S. administration's latest move is not yet quite clear, it is a fact that the EEC member countries did not accept the earlier U.S. sanctions against Poland either and that Reagan's decision announced last night has already given rise to very cautious official commentaries in European capitals and even to Paris, which has so far voiced the strongest political condemnation in Europe of the Polish events.

In the meantime Mieczyslaw Rakowski, deputy chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers, has arrived in Bonn on a 1-day visit. This is the first official visit abroad by a high-ranking Polish official following the introduction of the state of emergency. There is no doubt that Chancellor Schmidt will be kept informed during his holiday in Florida about the Genscher-Rakowski talks. Schmidt will be meeting the U.S. president again at the end of the New Year's holiday, so this round of diplomatic appraisals concerning Poland is taking place in parallel with what is taking place for the purposes of political propaganda with renewed violence, which characterizes mutual accusations and confrontation between the two blocs. [end recording]

REPORTAGE OF VISIT BY SPANISH CP'S CARRILLO

Met by Janzic 18 Dec

LD190010 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2120 GMT 18 Dec 81

[Text] Belgrade, 18 December (TANJUG) -- General Secretary of the Communist Party of Spain Santiago Carrillo arrived here this evening on a brief visit.

Carrillo was met by Executive Secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidency Vlado Janzic.

Talks with Dragosavac 19 Dec

LD191448 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1122 GMT 19 Dec 81

[Text] Belgrade, 19 Dec (TANJUG) -- President of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee Presidency Dr Dusan Dragosavac yesterday evening met with Secretary-General of the Communist Party of Spain Santiago Carrillo, who is on a brief visit to Yugoslavia. Member of the LCY CC Presidency Dr Aleksandar Grlickov and executive secretary of the LCY [Central Committee] Presidency Vlado Janzic also took part in talks.

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The wide-ranging exchange of views covered social-political and economic trends in Yugoslavia and Spain, the two parties' activities at the internal level, and current international questions.

Further Talks, Visit Ends

LD201404 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1618 GMT 19 Dec 81

[Text] Belgrade, 19 Dec (TANJUG) -- League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) Central Committee Presidency member Aleksandar Grlickov and Spanish Communist Party Secretary General Santiago Carrillo today conferred here in Belgrade. Carrillo also met here yesterday with LCY Central Committee Presidency President Dusan Dragosavac.

In the talks, views were exchanged on certain topical questions of development of socialism in the world and relations between communist and workers' parties. In this context, the two sides also discussed the latest events in Poland.

Also on this occasion the need was underlined for full respect, on the side of all countries and parties, of the principle of sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity, equality, non-interference in internal affairs, inalienable right of all countries and peoples to free and independent choice of roads and manners of struggle for progressive social transformation.

Cooperation between the LCY and the Spanish Communist Party was also discussed.

The Spanish Communist Party secretary general, who paid a brief visit to Yugoslavia at the invitation of the LCY Central Committee Presidency, left Belgrade today.

LCY'S MILOSEVIC MEETS ITALIAN COMMUNIST LEADER

AU171951 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 17 Dec 81

[Text] Borislav Milosevic, assistant executive secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, who is currently visiting Rome, has had talks with Giancarlo Pajetta, member of the Directorate and chief of the Department of International Relations of the Italian Communist Party, and with other leaders of that party. The most topical problems of the international situation and the domestic situations in Yugoslavia and Italy were discussed.

ZARKOVIC RETURNS FROM SUDAN, MAKES STATEMENT

AU291815 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 25 Dec 81 pp 1, 8

[Text] Belgrade, 24 Dec (TANJUG) -- Vidoje Zarkovic, member of the SFRY Presidency, returned from a visit to Sudan today. Milovan Zidar, member of the Federal Executive Council, who is also president of the Yugoslav side of the joint committee for economic, scientific-technical and cultural cooperation between Yugoslavia and Sudan, returned together with Zarkovic.

At Belgrade Airport, Zarkovic was welcomed by Lazar Kolisevski, member of the SFRY Presidency; Vajo Skendzic, member of the Federal Executive Council; Milan Rajacic, president of the Federal Chamber Committee for Federal Budget; Ivan Dolnicar, general secretary of the SFRY Presidency, and other figures who were also present at the welcome.

Immediately upon his arrival, Zarkovic made the following statement:

"During our official friendly visit to the Democratic Republic of the Sudan, we had very exhaustive and useful talks with President Ja'far Numayri, First Vice President 'Abd al-Majid Hamid Khalil and Vice President Abel Alier.

"In these talks we discussed nearly all questions pertaining to bilateral relations and we had a very fruitful exchange of views on international problems.

"We jointly assessed that the cooperation between Yugoslavia and Sudan in the political, economic, scientific-technical and other fields is developing successfully and that noticeable results have been achieved in certain fields. The Sudanese side very positively assessed the past participation of our economic organizations in Sudan's development. Both sides expressed the conviction that the conditions exist for further expanding economic cooperation. Our side expressed the need to balance commodity exchange and to regulate certain financial problems, all of which would contribute to the further intensification of our economic relations.

"In separate talks, which Milovan Zidar, member of the Federal Executive Council, held with his Sudanese colleagues, all these problems were discussed in detail, particularly the possibilities for cooperation in the field of energy.

"We noted that the need, as well as the readiness, exists for more frequent dialogue on a high political level and for closer cooperation in the Nonaligned Movement, the United Nations and in other international forums.

"It is understandable that we devoted special attention to the situation in the Nonaligned Movement and to the activities of nonaligned countries. We agreed that in the present aggravated international situation the interest in the nonaligned policy and in a more active role by the nonaligned countries in solving the complex problems facing the international community today is increasing in the world. In this connection, we assessed that in our movement we must strengthen even more the movement's action capabilities on the original principles and that we must contribute to a more effective solution of the conflicts and disputes that exist between certain nonaligned countries. In the talks it was also pointed to the need for the most thorough preparations as possible for the seventh conference of nonaligned countries which should be held in Baghdad next year.

"With President Numayri and other Sudanese officials we carried out a broad exchange of views on international economic relations and about the difficulties facing the developing countries, as well as the dangers resulting from an intensified arms race. We agreed that the nonaligned countries must devote their constant attention to these problems of vital importance for peace in the world and that they must with their initiatives contribute to solving these problems.

"We assessed that the existence of numerous crisis hotbeds in various parts of the world is one of the main causes of the present unfavorable development in international relations and that intensified efforts by the nonaligned countries and the entire international community are needed to remove these hotbeds. Within this context, we discussed the situation in the Middle East, in Southern Africa, in central and southeast Asia. Developments in Africa in general, particularly in the region in which Sudan is located, were particularly discussed.

"We mutually informed each other about the development of our countries and the efforts that are being made to ensure the further successful economic development, as well as overcoming certain difficulties which we are facing in this respect.

"In conclusion, I would like to stress that the talks with President Numayri and his closest associates were very cordial and friendly and that we both assessed that they represent an important contribution to the overall development of Yugoslav-Sudanese relations.

"The Government and people of Sudan accorded a warm hospitality to our delegation and at every step expressed their deep friendship toward Yugoslavia, for which I express my thanks on this occasion."

Presidency Approves Visit 29 Dec

LD291600 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1330 GMT 29 Dec 81

[Text] Belgrade, 29 Dec (TANJUG) -- A session of the SFRY Presidency was held in Belgrade today. It was chaired by Sergej Kraigher. Before the session began he called on SFRY Presidency members and other people present to observe a minute's silence to pay tribute to the late Miroslav Krleza.

The session discussed and approved the information on the official and friendly visit which the SFRY Presidency member, Vidoje Zarkovic, recently paid to the Democratic Republic of Sudan. The evaluation was made that the visit and the talks held with President Numayri and Vice Presidents Al-Majid Khalil and Abel Alier represent further encouragement for the promotion of friendly relations between the two nonaligned countries.

Special emphasis was placed on the significance which the further development of economic cooperation had on the strengthening of overall Yugoslav-Sudanese relations. The conviction was expressed that the exchange of views on the present complex development of the international situation and on the need to intensify the activity of nonaligned countries will make a contribution to further joint efforts for the affirmation of the policy of nonalignment as an independent and extrabloc factor in the world.

The decision was taken during the Presidency session to pardon a specific number of people serving sentences. Some other questions pertaining to the constitutional jurisdiction of the SFRY Presidency were also discussed.

SERBIAN ASSEMBLY ASSESSES CKREBIC VISIT TO RSFSR

AU190947 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 18 Dec 81

[Text] A session of the Joint Commission for Foreign Policy and International Relations of all the chambers of the Serbian Assembly has discussed and adopted a report by Dusan Ckrebic, president of the Assembly, who headed an Assembly delegation paying a visit to the RSFSR Supreme Soviet in October. It was assessed that the visit was very successful and that it constitutes a fresh stimulant to comprehensive cooperation between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union.

Developed economic cooperation was particularly pointed out and it was said in this connection that, in addition to the efforts to increase exports to convertible currency areas, exports to the Soviet Union and other socialist countries will continue to strengthen in our economy's export drive.

On the basis of the results of this visit, the commission concluded that conditions exist for the further enrichment and expansion of comprehensive cooperation between the two countries on the basis of the well-known principles contained in the Belgrade and Moscow declarations.

The different international positions of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia and differences in views on some international relations problems need be no obstacle to this development, it was said at the session.

The commission also examined and adopted a report on the visit of the North Rhine-Westphalia parliamentary delegation, which last month paid a visit to the Serbian Assembly. It was said at the session that the visit opens up fresh possibilities for cooperation between the two countries which will be specified and implemented in further contacts especially between the representatives of the executive organs of the two assemblies.

REPORTAGE ON 40TH ANNIVERSARY OF PEOPLE'S ARMY

Kraigher Speaks

AU231145 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 22 Dec 81 p 3-4

[Speech by Sergej Kraigher, president of the SFRY Presidency; submitting the report on the 40-year development of the Yugoslav People's Army at a festive soiree held at the Sava Congress Center in Belgrade on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the Yugoslav People's Army -- live]

[Text] Comrades, with a feeling of pride we devote today's celebration to the creation and development of the armed forces of Socialist Yugoslavia during the past four decades, to the importance and far-reaching effect of that historical event for our country, its development and international position, particularly in the present developments and complex political relations in the world.

This jubilee is of extraordinary importance for the workers class and for the working people, for all our peoples and nationalities, for wartime generations and for the youth who grew up in peace, as well as for members of the armed forces. The marking of this jubilee revives in us the memories of the heroic exploits and unselfish sacrifices of the best sons and daughters of our peoples and nationalities in their common struggle for the lofty ideas of freedom and independence, for brotherhood and unity, for a deep revolutionary transformation of society and for strengthening our defense capability. At the same time, this is also a reminder of Yugoslavia's contribution to the victory of the allied forces over the forces of fascism and Nazism, as well as to the victorious development of the anticolonial revolution and to strengthening the socialist and all progressive forces in the world.

It was for its social, political and military characteristics and its total achievements as well as for its humane and ethical values that our national liberation struggle against the fascist occupiers and domestic traitors represented a unique example in enslaved Europe. Our armed forces, too, grew and developed from the difficult struggle of the widest masses of the people, and it was in this manner that the national liberation and revolutionary character of our armed forces was determined. In that heroic struggle, the workers class, peasants, the progressive intelligentsia and all progressive and patriotic forces headed by the party and Tito were creating and created the new Yugoslavia. The decisions of the second AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia] session in Jajce and their implementation demonstrated that in the national liberation war a new Yugoslavia was formed as a democratic federal community of equal fraternal peoples and nationalities with a true people's authority, as an expression of the victory of new social forces under the leadership of the workers class and the Communist Party. Simultaneously with that, in the international field the struggle was waged and won for recognition of the achievements of the national liberation war. Only such a new Yugoslavia was able to successfully resist the policy of spheres of interest and foreign hegemony, and become an autonomous and independent subjective factor in international relations.

The deeply popular and all-people's character of the national liberation struggle and revolution determined the character and direction of our social development in the post-war period. The revolutionary initiative of the widest masses of the people was continued during the reconstruction period and, following the conclusion of that period, it found its full expression in developing socialist self-management. The Yugoslav People's Army developed simultaneously with the development of socialist self-management and the socialization of the affairs of the country's defense and the protection of its constitutional order and foreign policy. Our army and the armed forces as a whole developed as a factor of peaceful socialist construction, and of strengthening the international position of Yugoslavia as an independent and nonaligned country.

As a result of its prominent participation in the ranks of the anti-Hitlerite coalition and its great contribution to the victory over fascism, the new Yugoslavia won a great reputation in the world as early as during World War II. In the postwar period, it has continued to strengthen that reputation by resolutely defending its independence and its own road to socialism, and by playing an active role in the struggle for peace and social progress, and for respecting the freedom and independence of peoples and countries and their cooperation on the basis of equality. The names of Yugoslavia and Tito have become a symbol of freedom, independence, autonomy and equality. The ideas and work of the party under Tito's leadership have been woven into all our victories and successes in peace and in war, including the formation and development of our armed forces.

In the past four decades, our armed forces have honorably fulfilled all their tasks in the struggle for liberation and for creating conditions for revolutionary social transformation and in the efforts to safeguard the independence, integrity and peaceful development of socialist Yugoslavia. This has been possible thanks to the mass heroism of our fighters in the war and the tireless postwar efforts of members of the armed forces in strengthening the country's defense strength. I avail myself of this opportunity, on behalf of the SFRY Presidency and the working people of our socialist republics and socialist autonomous provinces, to pay tribute to all fighters and military service and those who are serving in the armed forces today, for their devoted service to the interests of their socialist country, our working people and our peoples and nationalities. [applause]

Comrades, our national liberation war demonstrated that, by relying on its own forces and the determination of the masses of people to take their fate into their own hands, even a small country can resist the most powerful military force. At the same time, it demonstrated the possibility of achieving this through the unification of the national liberation and historical revolutionary goals of the workers class and the interests of the widest masses of people. During the war, our national liberation army had to fight not only against the fascist armies but also against the numerous groups of domestic traitors who, under the protection and assistance of the occupiers and, some of them, in the service of the former Yugoslav Government in exile, turned against our people and their liberation struggle. As a result of this, it was clear that the victory over the fascist occupiers would simultaneously represent a defeat of the domestic traitors and the antinational plans of the reactionary forces. The popular character of the liberation struggle, the participation of the widest masses of people in that struggle and the specific conditions under which all peoples and nationalities of Yugoslavia waged that struggle, also determined a corresponding new method of conduct of war which is outlined in Tito's strategy.

Tito explained this strategy perhaps in the most concise form in an article in KOMUNIST in October 1946 entitled "What Is the Specific Feature of the Liberation Struggle and of the Revolutionary Transformation of New Yugoslavia." I quote: The struggle of the partisan detachments, as well as of the new People's Army, Tito wrote on that occasion, was not of an episodic character. No, this was a permanent bloody war with all its consequences, a war of extermination, against the occupier and domestic traitors. This was an all-people's war, but well-organized and led from one center, the supreme headquarters, combined with partisan warfare and frontal battles which were caused by the existence of liberated territories and the formation of large military units -- divisions and corps.

This concept expressed what was new compared with the previous military thought and with specific elements [Word indistinct] specific historical circumstances. The initial element in the strategic thought of our national liberation struggle was a partisan way of waging war, but oriented toward a mass people's uprising which will develop into a general national war.

The spread of the national liberation struggle throughout Yugoslavia had been particularly given an impetus with the conference at Stolice in September 1941, at which a number of important decisions were made, among which also the decision to form the national and provincial headquarters as a direct leadership of the armed forces of our peoples and nationalities, as well as the decision on changing the name of the headquarters of the national liberation partisan detachments of Yugoslavia to the supreme headquarters.

The national liberation war on the whole is characterized by a comprehensive involvement of the people's masses and all peoples and nationalities of Yugoslavia in creating the national liberation army, the people's authority and a mass militant sociopolitical organization such as the National Liberation Front. This clearly indicated that self-management and the system of all-people's defense, as its specific expression, had its deep roots as early as in the national liberation war. This means that the national liberation war by itself was a manifestation of self-defense and self-protection of the people's masses, and that from the activity of these people's masses and from various forms of the all-people's resistance its organized armed force has sprung and developed.

The partisan way of warfare had gradually developed into a combined partisan-frontal warfare, and this was our original strategic concept. The application of this warfare confirmed our ability to adapt ourselves to the most difficult conditions, such as at the end of 1941 and in 1942, to changes, and to opposing the strategy and tactices of the enemy in a way which ensured initiative and freedom of action for us. We did not accept rigid fronts which the enemy wanted to impose on us, but we imposed frontal battles on the enemy under conditions which were unfavorable for him.

In the development of our armed forces, as early as at the end of 1941, a qualitative leap forward was made with the formation of the first proletarian shock brigade with the prospects of creating increasingly greater formations -- divisions, corps and armies, as well as various services and kinds of modern armed forces. Thus, the capabilities for carrying out great operational and strategic tasks had increased. The party organizations and political organs ensured an ideopolitical unity of all parts of the national liberation army and the partisan detachments of Yugoslavia, a high combat morale and a firm conscious discipline.

The united leadership and command of the national liberation army had resulted from a uniform political and military strategy. It was reflected in synchronized leadership and command functions and in the responsibilities of the supreme headquarters and the supreme commander, but was not exhausted in that alone. This implies the necessary level of independence and initiative of the national and provincial headquarters, as well as other headquarters and commands of the combat units within the responsibility for realizing a uniform strategic plan. The main characteristic of our original war skill was the direction toward a constant and systematic offensive in the strategic, operational and tactical field against an enemy who with his actions tried to oppose the increasingly greater strength and the irrestible spread of the national liberation war.

As early as in 1941, the partisan detachments and other units numbered some 80,000 fighters. There was no such military force in occupied Europe. Vast territories were liberated in various parts of Yugoslavia in which the people's authority emerged. A new unforeseen battleground thus opened for the axis powers which tied down over 500,000 of their soldiers. In 1942, the national liberation army of Yugoslavia, with 150,000 fighters, was formed. One year later, this number was doubled and in that year, 1943, the glorious battles on the Neretva and Sutje Ska Rivers were fought. The military and political victories won up to then had made in possible to adopt the historic decisions at the second AVNOJ session, which provided the foundations for the new democratic federative Yugoslavia.

In the course of 1944, large parts of our country were finally liberated. The national liberation army increased to 600,000 men, while in the final stage of the war in 1945 the Yugoslav Army had some 800,000 fighters.

In the battles against the common enemy on our soil, members and parts of the armed forces of several friendly peoples also participated. We appre te their contribution and we respect the sacrifices which they made, and we do not separate them from our own sacrifices. As is well known, in the second half of 1944, units of the Red Army fought together with the Yugoslav national liberation army for the liberation of parts of our territory and the capital of our country, Belgrade. At the end of 1944 and at the beginning of 1945, some units of the Bulgarian Otechestven Front army participated, together with units of our national liberation army, in the battles in certain sectors. The circumstances under which we met the request of the Bulgarian Government for this participation are well known.

As the result of cooperation of the two parties [Yugoslav and Albanian] in the war against the common enemy, parts of the two divisions of the national liberation army of Albania participated in the battles for the liberation of certain regions of our country, together with units of our liberation army. In both cases, on our part, this was done with the aim of common struggle against fascism, strengthening of friendly relations and cooperation with the peoples of these two neighboring countries.

However, recently, particularly on the part of Albania, this contribution is given dimensions and interpretations which distort historical facts with obvious territorial aspirations toward Yugoslavia.

The contribution of our armed forces to the victory over fascism in World War II is manifold. Our armed forces waged a constant struggle with growing intensity and tied down 30-35 of the occupier's divisions and numerous quisling formations. On the Yugoslav battleground, 450,000 enemy soldiers, NCO's and officers were killed. Some 305,000 of our fighters and officers were killed, while 425,000 of them were wounded. Our overall losses in World War II exceeded 1.7 million people.

The internationalist orientation of our national liberation war and movement is also expressed in the assistance extended to the organization and spread of the armed struggle in Albania and Greece, and later also in Italy and Bulgaria. The importance of national liberation struggle and the role of our armed forces as a great factor in the anti-Hitlerite coalition was also confirmed by the recognition of the allies and by extending assistance in arms and equipment to carry out the closing operations.

However, the international recognition of the new Yugoslavia did not proceed easily. Perhaps never before had a small people, Tito said at the second AVNOJ session, had to pay such a high price to convince world public opinion that the blood shed in Yugoslavia was his blood. Regretably, efforts were made also later and they are also being made today to desecrate this truth, to rehabilitate treason and crime. The attempts to belittle the ethic values of our revolution are also connected with that. This serves the purpose of certain currents of the bourgeois, liberalistic and nationalist orientations in our country which distort the picture of our revolution, its achievements and values. A well-argued opposition to this occurrence is at the present moment one of the direct tasks of our ideological struggle and of ensuring the continuity of our revolution.

Social awareness about our national liberation war and revolution and the victory over the fascist occupiers and domestic traitors of all hues is an inseparable part of the social being of the war and postwar generations. The heroism of the fighters who won this victory will remain for all times an inexhaustible source of militant freedom-loving inspiration and an obligation to defend with all our forces and to further develop the freedom and independence of socialist Yugoslavia and all achievements of our socialist revolution. [Applause]

Comrades, in the first postwar years the greatest attention was devoted to reconstruction and socialist development of our country, to the further development and consolidation of the achievements of the national liberation struggle, and to preventing the interference of outside forces and the counterrevolutionary activities of the armed remnants of domestic traitors. At that time, our army played an important role in protecting the achievements of our revolution. The moral-political unity of our peoples and nationalities, the firmness and resoluteness of the party and the preparedness of our army were those vital factors which enabled us to consolidate in the peace treaties the achievements of the revolution legalized in the decisions of the second AVNOJ session, and to ensure the recognition of Yugoslavia within its present borders.

However, after the war Yugoslavia was exposed to great pressures from various sides, but thanks precisely to our unity, the strength of our country and army, we have frustrated all these attacks. We withstood Stalin's pressure, we defended and safeguarded our own road of socialist development of our society. With resolute resistance to all outside pressures we have gained the broadest possible international recognition and we have affirmed in the best possible way the right and responsibility of every people for its own development, and thus also the possibility for a position outside the blocs for a small country, and its equitable position and activity in international life.

The weight of outside pressures on Yugoslavia at that time was such that it called for extreme efforts of human and material resources. At that time we allocated a third of our national income for the needs of defense and we founded our own arms and equipment industry. On the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the Yugoslav Army in 1951, when it was renamed the Yugoslav People's Army, Tito launched a discussion on the further development of our armed forces and our military skill. He particularly stressed the need to develop the doctrine of an all-people's defense war under modern conditions.

The realization of that concept was linked with the development of socialist self-management and a socialization of the national defense and the country's security. A prerequisite for all this was overcoming the resistance of conservative forces and a final political settling of accounts with the forces of bureaucratic centralism and unitarianism at the fourth Brioni plenum of the LCY Central Committee in 1966, and since that plenum.

The importance of the doctrine of the all-people's defensive war is great in the political and military sense. This doctrine provides a complete answer to the question of objective possibilities for the defense of Yugoslavia's independence relying on its own forces. At the end of the sixties, the orientation was clearly confirmed toward the development of a defense system in which the socialist self-managing relations, the position of the working people and the decisive role of the workers class, as well as the general national and social interests of the peoples and nationalities, that is the republics and autonomous provinces, would be fully expressed.

This orientation is concretely confirmed in the documents of the following LCY congresses and the SFRY Constitution of 1974. On this basis, the system of all-people's defense and social self-protection starts with the basic organizations of associated labor and local communities and runs through the communes, republics and provinces up to the federation.

The basic characteristic of all-people's defense, by which it differs from the majority of the defense systems and military organizations in the world, is a socialization of defense affairs. With the development of socialist self-management, working people and citizens, women as well as men, have assumed direct responsibility for the defense and security of the country. At the same time, the protagonists of this system are the socialist republics and the socialist autonomous provinces, their peoples and nationalities.

All-people's defense and social self-protection are directed at preventing and frustrating hostile activities of all kinds, including special war methods, which have not bypassed our country and which have long been used as an integral part of the pressure and aggression from outside and subversion inside.

The Yugoslav People's Army, as the striking force of our armed forces, has the task of resisting the main force of a possible aggressor. In technical and technological aspects, our army keeps in step with the development of modern armies in the world. We may say that now we have a modern and strong military organization in every respect, capable of carrying out its tasks in any situation.

Throughout the post-war period, our army has directly participated in socialist building, in the political, social and cultural life of the country. As a mass school of socialist education of young generations, it has consistently implemented the LCY policy, traditionally cultivating brotherhood and unity with special responsibility. At all the crucial moments of our social development, the unity of our army has been fully manifested ideopolitically and in practical actions.

The role of the League of Communists in the Yugoslav People's Army has always been very great. Our army now contains 100,000 communists, and hundreds of thousands of soldiers were admitted to the League of Communists during their military service.

Over 1 million poeple are now organized in territorial defense. In the case of war, territorial defense would practically embrace all the people able to fight, and various other forms of all-people's defense. They are being trained to wage armed struggle and all other forms of resistance to an aggressor in all parts of Yugoslavia, as well as to protect the constitutional system and self-management, brotherhood and unity, and social and material values created by the efforts of the workers class and all working people. The responsibility of the socialist republics and the socialist autonomous provinces comes to full expression in building and developing territorial defense.

Tito defined the blueprint of armed struggle under modern conditions with the well-known analogy of a hedgehog strategy. In this way, he picturesquely depicted a strategy of comprehensive armed struggle both as regards personnel and materiel and time and space.

Since the war, there has been a constant interdependence between our socioeconomic and political development and the defense capability of our country. Checks in the development of socialist self-management negatively affect all-people's defense, security and self-protection. Actions of the counterrevolutionary forces in Kosovo have most seriously pointed this out and continue to point it out to us, as a warning to the entire country. They indicate what may happen if lagging occurs in the development of self-management, if bureaucratic-technocratic practices prevail and if there is lack of vigilance against nationalism.

However, our system of all-people's defense and social self-protection as a whole has proven to be capable and efficient in combatting the counterrevolutionary attempts of Albanian nationalists and irredentists. The adherence of the Albanians in Kosovo to socialist self-management and the togetherness of our peoples and nationalities, and the firm resolve of our socialist community not to allow counterrevolutionary activities in any of its parts, have played a decisive role in this. Our armed forces and security organs, on the basis of the political positions of the LCY Central Committee Presidium and the decisions of the SFRY Presidency, have consistently carried out their tasks in this spirit.

Comrades, we are all seriously concerned by the further aggravation of international relations. The military aspect of the economic and political contradictions shaking the world today is evidenced in an intensified bloc contest. The dangerous arms race continues. Military maneuvers have become more frequent. The old hotbeds of war continue to smoulder and new ones are ignited. The multiplication of dangerous crises in the world, as well as accumulated problems in international political and economic relations, demand -- perhaps more than ever before -- an active role of the Nonaligned Movement and policy.

Nonalignment has been fully affirmed as an independent and non-bloc political factor in international relations. The strength of the nonaligned policy, to which Yugoslavia is deeply devoted and which it consistently carries out, lies precisely in that it strives to eliminate the dangers of war and to settle problems in a way that does not bring any unilateral advantages to anybody but creates conditions for peace, security, development and general progress in the interest of everyone.

Bearing in mind the historical responsibility of the Nonaligned Movement and policy and their role, which has no alternative, we must, jointly with other nonaligned countries, make maximum efforts so that we may approach the next summit meeting of the nonaligned countries in Baghdad next year with fewer problems in the movement and thus increase its action ability. We see in this an extremely important field of cooperation with other nonaligned countries, especially in the coming months.

The further cooperation of the nonaligned countries in the development, the developing countries [Kraigher corrects himself] and other countries is of great importance so as to open, within the framework of the United Nations, the road to global negotiations on creating realistic prerequisites to overcome and solve the accumulated problems of economic relations in the world and to build a new international economic system.

In the bloc rivalry, Europe continues to be the continent with the greatest concentration of armed forces and the most destructive military means -- nuclear and conventional. In addition to this, crises causing concern and armed conflict exist in Europe's vicinity. The arms race continues to be a special problem that causes concern to mankind. This year alone, military expenditures have reached the record sum of over $500 billion, or twenty times more than the overall assistance extended to the developing countries. Instead of solving the world economic and social problems, the very existence of humans is being threatened. It is high time that all those people, particularly those which possess the greatest concentrations of destructive arms, both nuclear and conventional, begin to ponder this simple truth and responsibility for the destiny of their own nation and all other nations.

All the more we justifiably expect, like many other peoples, that the Soviet-American talks on nuclear arms in Europe will bring results which will reduce the fears of the European peoples and all peoples of the world, and contribute to a reduction and removal of nuclear arms from our continent.

When European and general security is at stake, I want to stress the role in this respect which the creation of zones of peace, regions without any nuclear arms and the strengthening and spreading of measures of confidence in various parts of the world play. Such zones on our continent, in the south of our continent, particularly in the Balkan and Mediterranean areas, central Europe and in northern Europe would mark an important step toward a denuclearization of Europe, as an expression of and condition for reducing the danger of war.

Along with this, it is necessary to stress that the security of the Mediterranean area, burdened by crises and foreign military presence, is of special importance for the security of all coastal regions and thus also for Europe in general.

The Madrid CSCE meeting has discussed for a long time the need to convene a conference devoted to strengthening measures of confidence and security and to disarmament in Europe. The European neutral and nonaligned countries are making significant efforts so as to create a positive platform for convening this conference. We see in this an expression of the general interests of the European countries for peace and security in our continent. For this reason we are making constant efforts for consistent implementation of the Helsinki document principles on relations among all European countries.

The world developments prompt us to stress, also on this occasion, our consistent unwavering position that every aggression and attempt to utilize its fruits are unacceptable.

Every threat of force or the undermining of the sovereign rights of other peoples, irrespective of the means the aggressor may use or the motives with which the aforementioned acts are justified, are also unacceptable. It is from these principles that we proceed in our position on the attacks on the freedom of countries and peoples in various parts of the world. It is on these principles that we base our efforts to achieve the recognition of the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people, including also the right to their own state, in which we see the key for solving the Middle East crisis.

We also view in this way the aggressive acts of the racist regime in South Africa. All the more we most sharply condemn the escalation of Israel's aggressive behavior which, applying the methods of state terrorism, is bombing foreign cities and now even is trying to annex parts of the occupied territory of a sovereign state. The world community must make an energetic end to all this. In the interest of the security of all countries, it is necessary to nip any attempt to profit from aggression in the bud.

This principled approach of ours is the expression of our deep conviction, both as a socialist and nonaligned country, that freedom and an independent social development represent the supreme sovereign values and achievements of countries and peoples, which no one has the right to violate or deny. This was our credo during the revolution and also now.

Our country, consistent to its revolution, its socialist convictions and the principles of nonaligned policy, continues with its persistent struggle against all those tendencies in international relations which lead to oppression, domination or interference in the internal affairs of other countries. The strengthening of our society's defense forces and of the armed forces in particular is a consistent part of these efforts. We proudly stress that our armed forces have always served and will continue to serve solely the defense of our freedom and independence. The strengthening of these forces is a need which is imposed on us by world circumstances which are outside our control.

With our policy, we are striving to make the development in the world and in our region as positive as possible. For this reason we are making great efforts to constantly strengthen friendly relations and cooperation with our neighbors, with the nonaligned, European and all other countries. In these relations and cooperation -- cooperation on an equal footing and on the basis of identical principles with all countries -- we also see a strong support for our own security. We stress with satisfaction that the cooperation of our armed forces -- technical, economic and other kinds of cooperation - with the armies of a considerable number of friendly, particularly nonaligned countries is a component part of these relations.

Comrades, in accordance with the development of the international situation, we must, along with persistent struggle for disarmament, peace and for equitable international cooperation, constantly take care about our country's defense. Ever since that wartime when the people shared their last morsel with the fighters, the allocation of the necessary funds for the development of the armed forces and their modernization has never been questioned. On its part the army, as a part of society, has always coordinated its needs with the country's material possibilities, naturally to an extent that does not weaken our defensive strength. This is also the case now when everyone, and thus also our armed forces, must assume his own part of the common responsibility in the efforts for economic stabilization which, by itself, is an extraordinarily important factor of our society's defensive capability.

The strengthening of our country's defense capability is and will continue to be one of the most important tasks of our political self-managing society, of all working people and citizens of Yugoslavia.

We are celebrating the 40th anniversary of the armed forces without Tito, without the supreme commander who was at the head of the armed forces for nearly 40 years and who played a decisive part in their creation and development. Tito's ideas and messages in the field of national defense remain for us a permanent signpost, but in a creative Titoist sense, according to which every generation is obliged in its own period to find those solutions which the new conditions and the development of the situation impose.

The revolution is worth as much, Tito used to say, as its capability to develop and defend its achievements. Just as we have in the past, in all past years strengthened this capability of our revolution, we will continue to do this in the future, too. [applause]

Dragosavac Address

LD211456 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0950 GMT 21 Dec 81

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 21 Dec (TANJUG) -- Comrade fighters of the 1st Proletarian Brigade, comrade soldiers and officers of the 1st Guards' Regiment, on behalf of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, the SFRY Presidency and on my own behalf I congratulate you cordially on the 40th anniversary of the 1st Proletarian National Liberation Brigade and, at the same time, on the anniversary of our Yugoslav people's army [YPA].

Our partisan war was the starting phase for the formation of the revolutionary army which, together with the armies of our allies, played an independent and equal part in the breaking of fascism. This was decisive for Yugoslavia's future.

The political and military strategy of the Yugoslav Communist Party, led by Tito, were decisive for the continued development of the revolution and enabled Yugoslavia to change from being a backward Balkan country into a sovereign and modern socialist country. The political strategy of the Yugoslav Communist Party, both before World War II and during the war, was the starting point of the military strategy, just as our military strategy was part of the political strategy.

The creation of the 1st Proletarian Brigade, composed of fighters from nearly all parts of our country, represents the highest level of our national liberation war and the socialist revolution. The fighters of the 1st Proletarian Brigade carried out their revolutionary tasks honorably and that is why it is not only its members and those continuing its traditions who are rightly proud of it, but all of us, all our working people and all the nations and nationalities of the SFRY.

The results which we achieved in war were gained in the context of the general conditions of the struggle of the antifascist coalition of which we were a significant member. Although we made an enormous contribution to the victory over the fascist conquerors, during the war and after it we also met with difficulties from our war allies. But since we had developed our own revolution and had the strong influence and support of our own people, and since we created our own new and powerful army, mass political organizations and people's power, we were also able to oppose the hegemonistic aspirations of our partners from the anti-Hitler coalition. In continuing the revolution after the war we helped and supported every national liberation revolutionary movement in the world. In this way, we made our own contribution to world progress and carried out our international obligations, just as we are continuing to do.

All this enabled our foreign policy to gain great prestige and trust and to achieve significant results. We achieved all this and continue to achieve it in the persistent and united struggle of our party, our working people and our nations and nationalities.

The greatness of our national liberation struggle and socialist revolution lies in the fact that, regardless of the differences, characteristics, difficulties and failures from time to time in individual areas and periods, it was the joint, united struggle of all the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia under the leadership of the Yugoslav Communist Party.

We liberated our own country by ourselves. In it, equal and sovereign, we are building socialism according to our own ideas and needs, and we are constantly developing a free, democratic and secure socialist self-management society.

Basing our revolution on the historic interests of the working class, we created all the conditions for the complete equality of all our nations and nationalities. Any difference in the treatment of one nation or people in relation to another is alien to our revolution. During the war we achieved brotherhood and unity through our own blood. They were achieved by our nations and nationalities, led by the Yugoslav Communist Party, just at the time when it seemed that we could not rely on each other.

We must continue to strengthen and preserve that brotherhood and unity, and hinder all those who in any way try to destroy it. We must continue to build up the trust of the working people of one nation in all the others in Yugoslavia, as well as in other peoples in the world. The noble role which the 1st Proletarian Brigade and all other proletarian and shock brigades, divisions and regiments -- the whole Yugoslav People's Army -- played and carried out honorably can serve as an example of tolerance to future generations in spreading and maintaining brotherhood and unity.

As an independent and socialist country we have tried to develop the most fruitful cooperation possible with all countries in the world, especially with the socialist countries. Unfortunately, we have met with great difficulties in this. There was the well-known attack by Stalin on our country and our revolution. We opposed this resolutely and, thanks to all the basic values of our revolution and its permanent trends, we were able to maintain and affirm our path of the independent self-management socialist development of society and to win an equal role and place in the world, in particular among the socialist countries and communist and workers parties. However, experience demonstrates that we shall continue to need to wage a struggle for equality, even among the socialist and communist parties, for we are also witnessing various armed conflicts between individual socialist countries and within them.

Comrades, true to our revolutionary traditions, responsible before our own working class and people and conscious of our obligations before history we shall continue to maintain and develop our revolution resolutely, as well as be in the first ranks of mankind's struggle for a better today and a better future.

Today we are more ready than ever to defend, and defend successfully, our socialist country against anyone who attempts to threaten its sovereignty, territorial integrity, equality and our inalienable right to determine the paths and forms of our future internal development and international policy ourselves. In this noble struggle we have never been alone, or isolated, nor will we be in the future. We will not allow anyone, now or in the future, to interfere in Yugoslavia's internal and foreign policy, just as we have never interfered in any country's internal policy, nor will we. We have behaved responsibly, and continue to do so, toward every liberation movement, every revolution and the national sovereignty and territorial integrity of every country and people, and we rightly expect others to behave in this way as well. This is our permanent condition for cooperation with any country, party or movement, big or small. We hold firmly, and will continue to do so, to Tito's well-known saying: "What belongs to others, we don't want, what is ours, we don't give away."

Our socialist system, based on self-management by working people, multiplies the defense power of our country, its armed forces and its security organs, for they are an integral part of the people who form the general armed strength and security of our country. In developing socialist self-managing Yugoslavia and mobilizing our working people in a positive program, we must never neglect or act in an opportunist way in relation to various counterrevolutionary activities, to any manifestation of chauvinism and racism or to any kind of service of foreign powers. The essence of our revolution and our socialism is the negation of national hatred, of the exploitation of man, of serving foreign interests and of treason.

Although we have fundamentally changed the economic and social structure of our society, certain remains of counterrevolution in our country, with support from outside, are trying to carry out their destructive activity.

They try to take advantage of every difficulty in our society and critical political and economic trends in the contemporary world in order to appear on the political scene. We must not, then, forget that the enemy never rests, that he is constantly trying to hinder our revolutionary socialist processes. This means that we must develop our revolution constantly, consolidate its gains and thus do even more to strengthen the bases of our all-people's defense and security.

Our united socialist self-management front, with the many possibilities offered by our socialist democratic system, can easily keep a small number of counterrevolutionaries on the edge of society, but since the world today is burdened with crises and dangers, and counterrevolutionary elements are an instrument of certain outside anti-Yugoslav forces and interests, we need to hinder their criminal activity more resolutely. We must be resolute in this, regardless of what various reactionaries in the country, and circles similar to them abroad, say.

In continuing to develop our socialist self-management political system, we are at the same time strengthening our independence and nonaligned position in the world, outside bloc divisions and rival competition between the big powers. We have never accepted any kind of military, ideological or political organizations which are above the concept of class, as they might hinder our freedom and peace, as well as that of others.

On the bases of socialist self-management, and developing Marxist science about an armed people, we have created and worked out in detail our own concept of all-people's defense in new conditions. We have also worked out the doctrine of the armed forces, which is to a great extent our own, and the strategy of the armed struggle. We have diversified, and now we can say that we have also socialized the system of all-people's defense and social self-protection as integral parts of the self-management rights, obligations and responsibilities of all working people and citizens to decide on their own security, as well as on all other issues of their lives. Thus, in the political system of socialist self-management, we have gained an armed force of several millions with its elite strength -- the Yugoslav People's Army, the joint property of all the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia. We have an organized defense and protection system with millions of military and other protective people. What we have created with our own intelligence, hands, sweat and blood, is something great. Therefore, ther is no greater task than to maintain what we have gained and to do even more to open up new prospects for the development of socialist self-management in all spheres of our life.

Comrades, all this should strengthen and speed up the processes of the struggle for social and economic stabilization which we have started, in which all working people must be involved with all their skill and essence.

We need to do everything to ensure that every citizen is conscious of the fact that only creative work, a high level of discipline and responsibility can help to overcome various difficulties, regardless of whether they are the result of development, our weakness or external influences. We can overcome them if we work better, if we are more rational, harmonious and united, and if we continue to develop equality and enrich brotherhood and unity with new contents, and guard it, as Tito always told us, like the apple of one's eye.

Kosovo Leaders Send Greetings

AU202102 Pristina Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 20 Dec 81

[Text] On 22 December, the day of the Yugoslav People's Army, the highest leaders of Kosovo -- Ali Sukrija, Veli Deva, Ilija Vakic, Azem Vlasi, Riza Sapundziju, Sefcet Jasari, (Danilo Vasic) and [name indistinct] -- have sent a telegram to the SFRY Presidency. The telegram reads as follows:

On behalf of the working people, citizens, communists, veterans, youth and pioneers -- Albanians, Serbs, Montenegrins, Moslems, Turks and other members of the peoples and nationalities of Kosovo united as brothers -- we send you warm and cordial greetings on the occasion of the holiday of 22 December, the day of the Yugoslav People's Army.

For the peoples and nationalities of Kosovo, as well as for other peoples and nationalities of our socialist, self-managing nonaligned community, the birthday of our army, a vigilant guarding of our borders, freedom, independence and self-managing socialist development of our country has always been a general national holiday. They are pleased and proud of being, together with other peoples and nationalities of our country, an indivisible part of our army and, by building new self-managing socialist social relations, they have simultaneously worked and are working on a constant development and strengthening of the armed forces and the defense capability of our community.

Conscious of the importance of preserving the most shining traditions and achievements of our national liberation struggle and socialist revolution, the Kosovo working people and citizens, under the conditions of the current struggle against the counterrevolutionary forces, (?provoked) by Albanian nationalism and irredentism, are achieving increasingly greater successes in implementing the concept of all-people's defense and social self-protection as an integral and inalienable part of their work and life, and they are implementing their tasks in an organized, self-sacrificing, conscious and responsible manner, while constantly perfecting and promoting their readiness and capability for the defense of freedom, independence, the territorial integrity and nonaligned self-managing socialist development of our homeland, a community of peoples and nationalities enjoying equal rights.

Also on this occasion, we express to you, dear comrades, our determination and the readiness of all working people and citizens of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo to work tirelessly to strengthen our armed forces and the defense capability of our country, to march resolutely toward new successes and victories, says the telegram, which was sent by the highest officials of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo to the SFRY Presidency on the occasion of the coming holiday, Army Day.

Sukrija at Kosovo Observance

AU230942 Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 22 Dec 81

[Summary] On the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the Yugoslav people's armed forces, decorations were presented to various people in the Presidency of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo. In presenting the decorations, Ali Sukrija, president of the Presidency of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo greeted the armed forces on this occasion and congratulated them in their achievements. Speaking about the history of the Yugoslav armed forces, Sukrija emphasized that the Yugoslav national-liberation army was created as an independent force, and not as a branch of outside forces. The Yugoslav armed forces are an expression of the aims of all Yugoslavia's nations and peoples for their own independent development and freedom.

Sukrija spoke about the exclusively defensive nature of the armed forces, whose duty is to counter all aggression against the unity of the country. The general people's defense and social self-defense are based on the self-management system. Defense is the duty of all workers and citizens and is in harmony with the interests of all nations and peoples of Yugoslavia.

After speaking about the development and capacity of the territorial and civil defense units, he then spoke about future tasks in this direction, and the hostile activities in Kosovo:

"The counterrevolutionary activity in Kosovo shows that our self-defense capacity should always be in readiness, not only against external dangers to the independence, integrity, brotherhood and unity of our nations and peoples and the victories of our revolution, but also against the internal dangers of the class enemy aided by external forces." For this reason our defense and social self-defense should be implemented and understood as a single duty in defending our independence and freedom and the integrity of the SFRY. This should be done through the "calm work and life of our workers and citizens" through continually strnegthening the vigilance of the combined producers, workers and citizens. "These are their constitutional duties and rights which they conscientiously carry out."

Sukrija then wished the members of the armed forces and those decorated success in defending the revolution, and urged them to be continually vigilant in all their duties.

PRESIDENCY NEW YEAR MESSAGE CITES MAJOR ISSUES

AU302128 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 30 Dec 81

[Report on "The New Year Message of the SFRY Presidency"--read by announcer]

[Text] We are leaving behind us a year in which we made comprehensive efforts to further develop the socialist self-managing relations, create conditions for economic stabilization and preserve peace and the relaxation of tension in the world. Celebrating the 40th anniversary of the uprising and the national liberation struggle, new generations of young people, together with older generations, strongly manifested their loyalty to the achievements of the socialist revolution and their readiness to preserve and further develop them. In the past year, we have enriched our experiences gained on the basis of significant results in our material and social development as well as on the basis of the shortcomings which we critically and openly discussed. The past year, as the first year of the implementation of the medium-term plan of social development, has shown that, by engaging all social forces, we can successfully solve even the most complex problems facing us.

The conviction that the present economic difficulties can and must be overcome with increased individual efforts has strengthened among the working people, which means that the quality of economic operations and management of all social affairs must be more in accord with the requirements and possibilities of the already achieved level of social development, both as regards the contemporary technological basis, the high level of training of cadres and the education level of the working people, and as regards socialist self-managing relations. The third congress of self-managers of Yugoslavia placed that task before all of us. It was that congress that expressed the determination of our working people to strengthen and consistently further develop the activity of our entire society on that basis and in that direction.

The results achieved in economic stabilization during the past year and especially in the last few months are encouraging especially as regards our more successful inclusion in the international division of labor. Exports have increased and the balance of payments deficit has marked a considerable reduction. Efforts are in progress for a higher productivity, further modernization and better organization of the economy as well as for a greater role of science in the economy's development. The awareness of the need for greater saving and for a more efficient use of all available resources is becoming increasingly predominant. The achievements and potentials of our society are great and represent a strong basis for our further development.

The 12th LCY Congress which will be held next year will provide a critical analysis of the experiences, results and shortcomings from the viewpoint of further strengthening the decisive role of the workers class and all working people, a more effective functioning of the socialist self-managing system and the entire development of the country.

That highest meeting of the League of Communists as well as the meetings of other socio-political organizations will provide a new encouragement to the socialist progress on the basis of self-management. Next year, large numbers of new younger people who will be elected to delegations and delegate assemblies and other self-managing organs will be given an opportunity to assume, with an even greater responsibility, their share of obligations in our society's development.

In the past year, the working people of our entire socialist community resolutely resisted the counterrevolutionary attacks by the Albanian nationalism and irredentism in Kosovo as well as other occurrences of nationalism in our country, the new year message of Yugoslavia's Presidency says. We also successfully repulsed other attempts by the hostile antisocialist forces, especially from abroad, to disturb the peaceful construction of our socialist self-managing society and weaken Yugoslavia's position and reputation in the world. It was once again strongly confirmed that the brotherhood and unity and the equality of the peoples and nationalities represent the foundations of Yugoslav togetherness, the greatest achievement of our revolution which our working people and citizens are defending, strengthening and further developing with all their means. In the contemporary complex international situation, a peaceful and safe internal development demands an even greater vigilance of all of us.

Also during the next year, our primary task will be the struggle for economic stabilization. We are aware that it will require new efforts and self-denials. It is with better work and greater savings that we must make decisive steps toward achieving the equilibrium in our balance of payments, more significantly reduce the inflation rate and strengthen our country's position in international trade; these are the basic prerequisites for economic stabilization. The associated labor alone can achieve this goal through self-managing organization and through mutual linking in the entire territory of the country. This implies the need to free the associated labor from the technobureaucratic restraints, liberalist sponntaneousness, nationalist narrowmindedness and all other pressures and attempts to hinder our development. Every individual working man and citizen must feel directly responsible and called upon to concretely contribute to fulfilling the conditions and tasks of economic stabilization.

In the past year, the international situation has been burdened by increasingly sharp contradictions, the crisis of political and economic relations and many conflicts and problems. All that confronted our country as well as all of mankind with extremely serious and responsible tasks. Consistently implementing the nonaligned policy, Yugoslavia continued to make efforts for a reduction of arms and bloc barriers, for greater confidence and unhindered cooperation and thereby also for greater security on our continent and the entire world. Advocating the security of all countries and peaceful solutions for crises and conflicts, we opposed the policy from the position of force, the bloc rivalry and the threats to the freedom of peoples and of individuals.

Together with other countries, the SFRY Presidency says in its message, we contributed as much as we could to creating the necessary conditions for a start in solving the extremely alarming problems of economic relatins in the world and, in this connection, the problems of development, unemployment and other problems, through cooperation between developed and developing countries. This moves us and the world closer to the first steps in building a new international economic system in the interest of all and for the good of all of mankind. At the same time, as a socialist country, we advocate the respect for the inviolable right of countries and peoples to the social and economic changes which, as a part and as an expression of the development of socialism as a world process, bring to peoples and men greater freedom and possibilities for influencing their own fate.

In the coming year we will also have the seventh summit conference of nonaligned countries in Baghdad. That conference is expected to strengthen the action capability of the Nonaligned Movement and policy, based on the original principles, to enable them, as an independent nonbloc factor, to contribute as successfully as possible to peaceful solutions for acute problems and to building more just political and economic relations in the world. The largest majority of mankind places its hopes in the nonaligned policy. This great responsibility all the more demands that the conflicts between the nonaligned countries be ended and that the disputes between them be solved by peaceful means, in their own and in the common interest.

The next year will also demand a complete engagement primarily in the United Nations to stop the arms race, continue the process of relaxation of tension and strengthen confidence to enable all peoples to tranquilly devote their efforts to their own and general progress. We will also be engaged in new meetings and other activities with the aim of constantly strengthening friendly relations and advancing cooperation with the nonaligned, European and especially neighboring countries as well as all other countries on the basis of the principles of mutual respect and equality. In the next year also we will confirm our devotion to the policy of openness to cooperation with all and as close contacts between peoples and men as possible, because this is our essential orientation emanating from our existence as an independent and nonaligned socialist country.

In the coming year also, we will face many responsible tasks in all spheres of social life and development, the tasks which we approach with determination and with faith in our own forces, for the SFRY today is a strong state and a self-managing community with a developed economy, democratic political system, a strong army, all-people's defense and social self-protection, and a high awareness and patriotism of all our people. Further strengthening the unity on the basis of equality of our peoples and nationalities and socialist self-management and strengthening all achievements of the revolution and past development, we will also continue during the next year our efforts for a comprehensive progress of the society and increasingly better life of our people. In this manner we will further strengthen our country's international position and reputation also.

Thus, we unwaveringly continue to follow the road which we have followed with Tito during several decades. The SFRY Presidency offers best wishes to the workers class and all working people, all our peoples and nationalities, youth and pioneers, members of the armed forces and security service, all citizens of our country, for the new year of 1982 during which we all expect new successes and further progress in the struggle for the liberation of labor and man.

BUDGET TO MEET NEED FOR ECONOMIC STABILIZATION

LD291650 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1600 GMT 29 Dec 81

[Text] Belgrade, 29 December (TANJUG) -- Yugoslav federal budget next year will total 203.8 billion dinars, (about 5.2 billion dollars) and the country's economic policy will be characterised by determined efforts towards economic stabilization.

The Assembly of Yugoslavia today adopted the federal budget and development plan for 1982. Federal expenditures have been planned in accordance with the needs of the economic stabilization. Thus next year's 22.9 percent budget increase over this year corresponds to the planned nominal increase of social product and is in accordance with the orientation to spend only what has been earned.

As usual, the major part of the budget (more than a half) has been earmarked for the needs of people's [word indistinct]. Over the recent years Yugoslavia has been spending for this purpose less than 6 percent of its national income.

The budget of the federation accounts for the largest part of budget expenditures in Yugoslavia. The republics, provinces and municipalities have their own resources to cover their legal obligations and expenses. Each year they adopt their own budgets, while certain social activities (education, health, child welfare etc) are financed from special funds.

The 1982 development plan forsees a significant curbing of inflation which is to amount to only 15 percent. The success in curbing the inflation will to a great extent determine the realization of the planned 8.5 percent increase of exports. The plan foresees exports to convertible currency markets to increase by 12 percent.

With the planned expansion of exports in 1982, Yugoslavia primarily seeks to significantly reduce its balance of payments deficit and halt further incurring of foreign debts. The balance of payment deficit has [words indistinct] at only 500 million dollars (this year it is estimated to total between 1.7 and 1.8 billion dollars).

The envisaged 2.5 percent growth of social product is more moderate than in recent years, as is the 3.5 percent growth of industrial production, while agricultural production has been foreseen to grown by 4 percent in comparison with this year. A further decline in investment activity -- 6 percent -- has also been planned.

Yugoslavia is firmly committed to increasingly base its development in next and the following years on its own sources and the available accumulation.

FEDERAL INSTITUTE ANNOUNCES PRICE FREEZES

LD190002 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1302 GMT 18 Dec 81

[Text] Belgrade, 18 Dec (TANJUG) -- The chairman of the Federal Institute for Prices today informed journalists that the Federal Executive Council has adopted a decision on the price limit for all products and services effective today. According to this decision, practically all prices have been "frozen", by 31 December this year -- regardless of who is competent for their fixing. [as received] After this date and at the latest by 31 January next year, or rather until the agreement on 1982 prices and the programs for price movements in the coming year have been adopted, prices will be corrected only in exceptional cases and if all institutes for prices (federal, republican and provincial) agree to it. After January, a gradual transition from the severe regime of officially agreed price lists is envisaged, introducing the price system in the spirit of the law on prices.

ECONOMIC ISSUES DOMINATE 29 DEC CHAMBER SESSION

'Battle for Stabilization'

LD300020 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1211 GMT 29 Dec 81

[Text] Belgrade, 29 Dec (TANJUG) -- Delegates of the Federal Assembly Chamber of Republics and Provinces today adopted a resolution on the country's socioeconomic development for next year. The resolution sets out all the tasks which our society needs to achieve in order to continue successfully the battle for stabilization.

Strong emphasis is laid on overcoming current economic difficulties, for which an increase in production for export is essential, as well as maximum economy in all spheres, the reduction of imports down to the most necessary, and better organization of work, increased productivity and effective linking between producers in the reproduction process.

A growth rate in social production of about 2.5 percent is envisaged, while industrial production should go up by 3.5 percent and agricultural production by about 4 percent. Particular significance is attached to production for export and production which contributes to import substitution, for these have a positive effect on the country's balance of payments.

Overall exports of goods and services should grow by 8.5 percent, and exports to the convertible market should be considerably higher -- by even as much as 12 percent. The balance of payments deficit for next year should not be more than $500 million [unit of currency as received] and it is also essential to aim at a reduction in the level of the country's foreign debts. In this connection, measures will be taken to reduce the import of equipment. Only equipment which is not produced here will be imported, equipment which will contribute to the more rapid completion of projects in construction and increase production for export, reduce imports and contribute to eliminating structural disproportions in the production of food, energy and basic raw materials.

The credit and monetary policy will ensure that the volume of money and bankers' investments are in keeping with the aims and tasks of the stabilization policy in volume and structure, as well as with an improvement in the balance of payments and increased exports of goods and services, above all to the convertible market.

Retail price rises (December 1981 to December 1982) should not exceed 15 percent. The resolution also includes the conclusion that an agreement on prices policy should be signed by the end of January at the latest.

The general advocation of economies is also reflected in figures relating to general and joint needs. The resolution says that outgoings for joint social needs should not rise by more than 18 percent, and 17 percent for general needs. The orientation is that federal expenditure should grow more slowly than the rate of nominal growth in the social product.

Investments, which is one of the significant areas for stabilization, have been placed under stricter control. Their real volume next year should be about 6 percent less than this year.

As regards the standard of living, a formulation has been adopted by which measures should be taken next year to slow down the fall in the standard of living, primarily of households with the lowest incomes per member.

The resolution also provides for measures to speed up the development of economically insufficiently developed republics, and the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo in particular. The strengthening and development of all-people's defense and social self-protection will be speeded up within the limits of society's real possibilities.

At the start of today's session, the delegates of the Chamber of Republics and Provinces observed one minute's silence in honour of the late Miroslav Krleza.

The Chamber today adopted a law setting out the overall volume of federal budget expenditure for 1982, as well as a decision setting out receipts from customs and other import duties which in 1982 will be yielded to the Yugoslav interest community for economic relations with other countries. It also adopted a decision setting out the overall total of foreign currency for federal needs next year, and a decision on the aims and tasks of joint issue and monetary policy, and the joint bases of credit policy in 1982.

The Chamber also adopted a bill to change and amend the law on the federal fund for financing the more rapid development of economically insufficiently developed republics and provinces. The delegates adopted a proposal to relieve Milorad Pesic of his post as deputy federal secretary for foreign affairs, as he is taking up a new post.

The Chamber accepted the removal from today's agenda of a proposed bill to change and supplement the law on the bases of the system and social control of prices, as well as a proposed law to ensure foreign currency to pay for imports of oil, oil derivatives and coking coal from the convertible area in 1982, because the assemblies of all the republics and provinces have not given their agreement to the adoption of these laws, and so the drafts could not be prepared in the relevant Chamber committees.

The Chamber session will continue this afternoon.

Foreign Currency Policy

LD300054 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1842 GMT 28 Dec 81

[Text] Belgrade 29 Dec (TANJUG) -- The Chamber of Republics and Provinces at today's session adopted a proposed decision on the joint foreign currency policy for Yugoslavia in 1982. The aim of this policy next year above all is to create conditions for increasing exports in real terms by about 8.5 percent (a 12 percent increase for the convertible area), and reducing the economy's dependence on imports, especially in the sphere of production of food, energy and other raw materials, as well as for increased covering of imports by exports. By means of further coordinating the duty level the positive effect of the foreign market on increasing labor productivity and strengthening qualitative factors of economic activity will be permitted, which will improve the country's foreign liquidity. The real and unified course of the dinar will effect an improvement in the economy's competitiveness in the international market for goods and services.

The Chamber of Republics and Provinces also accepted the Federal Executive Council's [FEC] proposal to adopt laws on a temporary unified projection of the country's balance of payments and foreign currency balance for 1982. During the process of coordination, agreement had not been reached by all the assemblies of the republics and provinces on these documents, so the FEC, in accordance with its Constitutional authority, proposed the adoption of laws on temporary measures. The SFRY Presidency agreed with this.

In the last few days, in the committee for economic relations with other countries, great efforts were made to adopt the projected balance of payments and foreign currency balance of the country for next year with the agreement of all the assemblies of the republics and provinces. Although the principle of the current economic situation was accepted unambiguously, that the balance of payments deficit should not exceed $500 million, that the export offensive is the most important task in the economy and that imports must continue to be "trimmed," complete agreement was still not reached on some key issues of economic relations with other countries. Special difficulties, as in previous years, arose about the "distribution" of the deficit, in which the great lack of coordination of the economic structure and material possibilities of the country always comes to the surface.

The lack of methodology for establishing and distributing the deficit has also held up coordination considerably and there is a view that the burden of the country's balance of payments difficulties has not been correctly taken by all the republics and provinces.

According to the procedure for temporary measures a regulation was also adopted on ensuring foreign currency to pay for imports of oil, oil derivatives and coking coal from the convertible region in 1982.

The FEC proposed the adoption of a law on oil by urgent procedure, but coordination of this did not even begin in the relevant committee because the Slovene delegation did not agree to its adoption. Therefore the FEC proposed the temporary securing of resources for this purpose.

DRASKO JURISIC DISCUSSES HOSTILE ACTIVITY

LD031422 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0705 GMT 3 Jan 82

[Text] Split, 3 Jan (TANJUG) -- In spite of the rather serious situation which we have had and still have in Kosovo and in spite of the more strongly felt activity of enemies of all kinds, our security situation is good. This is the result of the activity of organized socialist forces of our society, with the LCY at the head, and of the active involvement of all the factors of social self-protection.

This was stated by Drasko Jurisic, deputy federal secretary for internal affairs, in an interview published in the new year's issue of the Dalmatian informative and political daily SLOBODNA DALMACIJA.

Talking about the enemy activity in Kosovo, the deputy federal secretary for internal affairs stressed that the situation remained complex and that this activity was felt nearly every day. True, heavy blows are being inflicted on the enemy but he has not yet been completely defeated. His activity is felt daily in various forms: writing slogans, writing and distributing leaflets and pamphlets, exerting various kinds of pressure, trying to give rise to dissatisfaction and insecurity...

Answering the question about whether the recent student excesses also belonged in this category, Drasko Jurisic said that the incident was in his view an expression of certain dissatisfaction, more political than of some other kind. In the situation when our organized forces, with the support of a great number of progressive students, are undertaking concrete measures to stablize political situation in Kosovo, some 80 to 100 young men arrive in the student canteen, some wearing workers overalls, and cause disorder, and a few days after the same or another larger group gathers and boos somebody -- when this happens then it must have its political dimension in the situation which at present prevails in Kosovo. This, to put it briefly, represents a violation of public order and peace and gives rise to dissatisfaction.

Hostile activity of Albanian nationalists and irrdentists, Drasko Jurisic went on, has also helped by an outside factor. Here I mean primarily the hostile emigre groups active abroad, which follow the same line as individuals and groups in Kosovo, as well as the activity of the Albanian secret service and other official institutions of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

In spite of all this, the political-security situation in Kosovo is becoming more stable, said the deputy federal secretary for internal affairs, adding that concrete activity had already started on implementing the LCY platform for action on the development of socialist self-management, brotherhood, unity and togetherness in Kosovo and that the internal affairs organs, within the sphere of their jurisdiction, continued to work on eliminating hostile activity as quickly and as completely as possible.

Commenting on the stands expressed recently at the sessions of the Central Committees of the League of Communists of Serbia and Yugoslavia which said that the party leadership was surprised by and insufficiently informed about what had been happening in Kosovo, and answering the question on whether the internal affairs organs were also somewhat surprised, the deputy federal secretary for internal affairs said:

-- Hostile activity of Albanian nationalists and irredentists has been present in a greater or lesser intensity for a long time. In the period immediately preceeding the counterrevolutionary demonstrations, the internal affairs organs discovered in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo several illegal groups which acted from those positions. However, what was surprising, was the intensity and volume of the counterrevolutionary actions. Data which could have reliably led to the conclusion that such actions were being prepared were not presented to us.

Working on improving the situation, the internal affairs organs now act within the sphere of their jurisdiction, which has been accepted as such. Applying preventive and repressive measures, they have been making efforts to curb and eliminate hostile activity. They successfully uncover and stop the activity of illegal groups and organizations. So far a total of 262 persons have been convicted, while criminal proceedings have been instigated against another 92 persons. About 700 persons have received punishment for hostile activity from the positions of Albanian nationalism and irredentism.

-- Inspired by the situation in Kosovo, all hostile individuals and groups are on the whole more active, Drasko Jurisic, deputy federal secretary for internal affairs, went on. Here I primarily mean nationalists. They not only express dissatisfaction with the self-management socialist system, but also by glorifying their nation they want to say that they are the only true fighters for the rights of man and democracy. According to them, our socialist system slights human values and suppresses the nation. Nationalists link themselves with the reactionary section of the clergy who want to politicize the church and place it in the position of a partner to society. Enemies of all religious beliefs exstablish links and collaborate with nationalists. Thus, for example, the hostile circles among the clergy together with nationalists reach for dark images from the recent past, which include notorious clericalists Stepinac, Velimirovic, Rozman and others, trying to present them in historically positive light.

However, I would like to stress that the greatest number of clergymen of all faiths behave very fairly, in keeping with the agreed relations between church and state.

The deputy federal secretary for internal affairs warned that increased hostile activity of other enemy groups was also felt:

-- Others are also raising their heads: Cominformists, anarcho-liberals and others. They have all become bolder and more active, believing that under conditions of an exceptionally complex international situation they would be able to gain something for themselves. Their activity is more or less verbal. There have also been attempts to spread their hostile stands in written form. It is a well-known things that some have recently published petitions in which they defend counterrevolutionaries in Kosovo. They wish to slight our legal system and penal policy, which should be distinguished from well-meaning comments by citizens about the penal policy in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo.

Some anarcholiberals, Drasko Jurisic continued, established links with elements abroad, above all with reactionary and conservative intellectuals in European countries and particularly with those active in some international organizations, for example in various organizations fighting for human rights and others. Linking themselves with these, they criticize the system in Yugoslavia, represent the situation here unrealistically, and so on. Not only that, some of their writings and statements are used by hostile emigre newspapers. According to them anyone sentenced here is sentenced unjustly. They believe it to be an attack on man and democracy and the like. This activity of theirs cannot jeopardize socialist and constitutional order in our country, but should not be neglected.

The deputy federal secretary for internal affairs went on to say that there were also instances of links being established between the hostile elements in the country and political emigre groups.

-- Hostile elements in the country establish links with hostile emigre groups in Europe and in non-European countries, they receive help from them and means for carrying out their activity, they receive leaflets, letters, pamphlets. Hostile emigre groups try through this collaboration to undertake various actions, but they have not been successful in carrying them out.

Stating his views on the links between the Ustasha and hostile Albanian elements in recent times and on the aims of this collaboration, Drasko Jurisic said:

-- There is no doubt that their main aim is to destabilize and destroy Yugoslavia as it is. This is also the aim of collaboration of other extreme emigre groups with enemies in the country. Most active are Albanian and Ustashi emigre groups, which have set fire to our diplomatic missions, destroyed some clubs of our workers, attacked our diplomats and journalists, honest and loyal emigrants and our citizens employed abroad... Unfortunately, organs in the countries in which this has happened have not always prevented their activity efficiently, in spite of the fact that we have supplied information to the police in the countries in which these emigre groups are active.

Drasko Jurisic went on to talk about how the hostile elements used our economic difficulties and stressed:

-- In its subversive activity against our system the enemy has always made use of economic difficulties in the country. He tries to describe shortages of products, increases in customs duty and the like as instances of the weakness of system and lack of care by society and leadership. The enemy tries to create in individuals a sense of defeatism -and lack of prospects, a feeling that our present problems cannot be solved and that the system of socialist self-management is to blame for economic difficulties. However, the enemy has nothing to offer in exchange for socialist self-management, for nonaligned and independent foreign policy, but instead offers only outdated and compromised prescriptions.

Naturally, our working man complains, but complains in a characteristic way. He is incensed when there is a shortage of something, but he does not curse the system and does not become its opponent. He is becoming increasingly aware that the difficulties facing our country are almost identical to those besetting the majority of other countries. However, there have not been cases of organized and open excesses on account of this situation.

At the end Drasko Jurisic, deputy federal secretary for internal affairs, talked about economic crime, stressing that in the past year there had been an increase in the number of uncovered criminal acts of economic crime. There had likewise been individual instances of certain activities aimed at undermining the economic foundations of our society, although economic crime itself undermines them.

Drasko Jurisic went on to stress that the security organs had achieved good results, particularly as regards preventive measures, and that as far as uncovering perpetrators of economic crimes. In comparison with other countries our country came at the very top of the list.

STUDENT MAGAZINE CHASTISED FOR RADICAL ARTICLES

AU192055 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 18 Dec 81

[Text] Shortcomings in the editorial policy of the magazine STUDENT were discussed last night at an expanded session of the publishing council of this organ of Belgrade students. It was noted that these shortcomings were particularly manifested in several articles in the latest three issues. Members of the editorial board and of the council did not agree in their assessments, and it was decided to continue the discussion. Mirjana Trajkovic reports on the session of the STUDENT publishing council:

The job of the journalist is not easy in these complex times. Much knowledge, wisdom and skill are needed. One must not disturb the public with alarming facts, one must be measured and balanced. We could see last night at a session of the student publishing council that caution is one of the rules of the journalistic trade. The overall good work of young journalists during this term was spoiled by some articles which the members of the council assessed as unacceptable.

Grave judgments were pronounced, ranging from the assessment that student makes blanket assessments and adopts utopian views up to those of liberalism and an ultraleftist attitude, or rather unsupported criticism of everything that exists and strivings for a change of the system. At issue are some articles in the last three issues which, it was stressed, spread ideological confusion in the public.

An article published in the latest issue of STUDENT, an open letter to the LCY Central Committee Presidium, was criticized the most. Its author, Momcilo Petrovic, one of the editors of STUDENT, in his article referring to the Antonije Isakovic interview in AUTO SVET, writes about the Cominform and says, among other things: Since it has only now become obvious how true the statements in the book [title indistinct] are, I propose to you -- that is to the LCY Central Committee Presidium -- that in the interest of the party you examine the case of Goli Otok [Adriatic island prison camp where Cominformists were held] and inform the public about it.

Sharp words were also directed at the following: letter to the chief editor, whose message was interpreted to mean that our system is wearing out and the student masses are called to cut short its agony; an editorial on republic day; and a satirical article, a message to the people, which, it was assessed, makes fun of the grave situation in Kosovo and Comrade Tito's name. It concerns the bestowing of Tito's name to Kosovska Mitrovica.

After these serious accusations, the meeting became more dramatic. Vladimir Knezevic, former president of the university conference of the youth federation, called for differentiation and for radical changes in the editorial board. Nebojsa Dragosavac, president of the publishing council, intervened and explained that it is not a case of heads rolling but of a frank discussion about shortcomings and omissions. A reexamination of the editorial policy is needed, considering that STUDENT is part of the political atmosphere in Belgrade and beyond. STUDENT does contain articles opposed to the official policy, Nebojsa Dragosavac stressed. He rejected the assessment, however, that anybody on the editorial board is against the system. Nebojsa Dragosavac further said that on the basis of some articles in STUDENT, we quote, one may gain the impression of near dissatisfaction that what is happening in Poland is not happening in our country. He cited the case of a dialogue in the latest issue: Can it be counterrevolution? Why should we be worse than they are? We, too, staged an uprising in 1941.

It is our impression that the STUDENT editorial board unanimously and resolutely backs all the articles and rejects the accusations that it was slinging mud at the achievements of the revolution. Members of the publishing council showed understanding for the youthful emotions of the journalists, but they warned them that radicalism in specific situations may inflict political damage and that the lack of arguments, which is evident, cannot be replaced by a surplus of emotions.

VOJVODINA EXECUTIVE COUNCIL SCORES POLITIKA

LD172030 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1746 GMT 16 Dec 81

[Excerpts] Novi Sad, 16 Dec (TANJUG) -- The Executive Council of the Assembly of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina met today and discussed and adopted a report on the progress of agreement-making on economic policy of joint interest in the Socialist Republic of Serbia for the 1981-85 period. The Executive Council of the Assembly of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina had in mind newspaper reports about the sessions of the Serbia Assembly Executive Council of 11 December on the same problem, in particular the report in POLITIKA.

In discussing and assessing the difficulties and problems which are present in the preparation, adoption and implementation of the social plan of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, the Executive Council of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina proceeds from the continued consistent implementation of the Constitution, the law on associated labor, the law on the basis of the system of social planning and other regulations and documents, from which it can be seen that the equality of the republics and socialist autonomous provinces in the system of social planning is set out in the same way unambiguously. This equality arises from the sovereign right of the workers in associated labor and other working people in the republic and provinces to establish the policy of social development and to guide social planning and coordinate material and social development.

It is thus quite unconstitutional that individual republican organs should advocate that republican organs set out economic policy of joint interest and that in establishing this policy the relevant provincial organs should not take part as exponents of planning on the self-management basis of the expressed and coordinated interests of the socialist autonomous province. Such suggestions about the implementation of the Constitution and law by individual republican organs are also contrary to the joint approach in the republic which has been operating to date in implementing the Constitution. The interests of organizations of associated labor in the province are expressed in their self-management agreements and plans, and in agreements on the bases of the plan and in the province's social plan. It was assessed that such suggestions prevent the implementation of the province's social plan and that in essence they signify an essential deviation from the Constitution.

The statements in POLITIKA relating to work on individual agreements are inaccurate. This relates to activity by working groups of the Socialist Autonomus Province of Vojvodina in the sphere of energy, transport, the water industry and the metal complexes. The quotations in connection with the Serbia Executive Council's initiative to conclude three new agreements (on social activities, national defense, security and social self-protection and the development of the processing industry in Kosovo) are without foundation. In fact, it is stated that the Executive Council of the Assembly of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina did not give its view on the above initiative.

In relation to the initiative arising out of the social plan for the Socialist Republic of Serbia are for the 1981-85 period, that in Serbia, for the sake of the realization of the joint policy of more rapid development of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, special stimulus would be given to the self-management pooling of labor and resources on the basis of income -- on which an agreement is to be concluded by the Executive Council of Vojvodina -- the Executive Council had in mind the view of the Assembly of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina on the proposed social plan for Serbia of 29 June 1981 in which, among other things, it was established that mutual linking cooperation and self-management pooling of labor and resources of organizations of associated labor should be stimulated on the basis of income in order to carry out the obligations undertaken in agreements on economic policy of joint interest to the republic. Particular emphasis will be placed on the self-management pooling of labor and resources on the basis of income for the more rapid development of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, and with this aim in mind the republic and autonomous provinces, in the context of their rights and duties, will take the necessary measures.

In accordance with this the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina proposed 15 development programs in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, on the basis of the pooling of labor and resources on the basis of income, as well as the construction of a factory for apartments financed by associated labor from the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina. The agreement and realization of these programs is in progress.

It is thus incomplete and inaccurate to interpret that the Executive Council of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina rejected the initiative to take the necessary measures to give special stimulus to Kosovo's more rapid development. Inaccurate and imprecise information about the progress of work on agreements and problems create an inaccurate picture among our public about the reasons for delay in agreement-making. Particularly unacceptable and harmful are the unjustified accusations against members of the working groups from the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina who carried out their part of the responsible task with maximum responsibility, the statement by the Executive Council of the Assembly of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina says.

FIRA HOLDS TALKS WITH ZAGREB ARCHBISHOP

AU241318 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 23 Dec 81 p 4

[Text] Within the framework of contacts between responsible representatives of the state organs and the religious communities in the SFRY, Aleksandar Fira, member of the Federal Executive Council and president of the Commission of the Federal Executive Council for Relations with Religious Communities, paid a return visit yesterday to Dr Franjo Kuharic, archbishop of Zagreb and president of the Bishops' Conference of Yugoslavia. The talks were open and specific, and the problems existing in th relations were noted. Both sides concluded that meetings of this kind are useful, and they stressed the need for continuing the contacts to overcome the problems appearing in everyday practice and develop relations in the spirit of the Constitution, laws and the protocol signed by the SFRY and the Holy See.

INCREASE IN DRUG ADDICTION REPORTED IN BELGRADE

AU012103 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 14 Dec 81 p 11

[Dragica Marinkovic commentary: "The Flag of Surrender"]

[Summary] The decision of the Chamber of Associated Labor of the Socialist Republic of Serbia to prepare material for an action program of measures against drug addiction within the next 6 months sounds like a surrender, like a white flag being hoisted before the struggle against drug addiction has even begun.

During the past 10 years, various services have prepared quite a bit of material aimed at drawing the public's attention to the problem of drug addiction. This problem was also discussed on television, in newspapers, in letters to physicians and in statements made by parents of drug addicts. The problem has not changed much in recent years, but the number of addicts has increased.

In Serbia last year, 195 out of 534 drug addicts who were given medical treatment were treated in hospitals. Now, 15 young people in Belgrade seek medical treatment every month, while the number of drug addicts in Belgrade is estimated at between 5,000 and 6,000.